



# ESSAYS IN AMERICAN-JEWISH HISTORY

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES UNDER THE DIRECTION OF JACOB RADER MARCUS

# N JURY

Founded in 1947 on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, the American Jewish Archives has become, in its first decade of existence, a major research center for American Jewish history. This volume is published as a *Festschrift* in tribute to the Archives and its director and guiding spirit, Jacob Rader Marcus. The score of essays comprising it have been written by noted scholars and range over the field from the sale of a slave in the Brooklyn of 1683 to the activities of a highly-placed American Jewish leader at the post-war peace conference of 1919; from a genealogical study of American Jewry in the Colonial and Early National periods to an investigation of the American Jew's rôle in the United States of today. Many of the essays cast new light on important figures like Isaac M. Wise, Isaac Leeser, David Einhorn, Bernhard Felsenthal, and Cyrus Adler, while others explore some hitherto little-known aspects of the Jewish experience in America — early American Jewish Hebrew scholarship, for example. An intriguing picture of American Jewish economic, cultural, and political life emerges from this *Festschrift* to constitute another contribution to the small, but growing, body of literature on which rest the foundations of American Jewish history as a scientific discipline.



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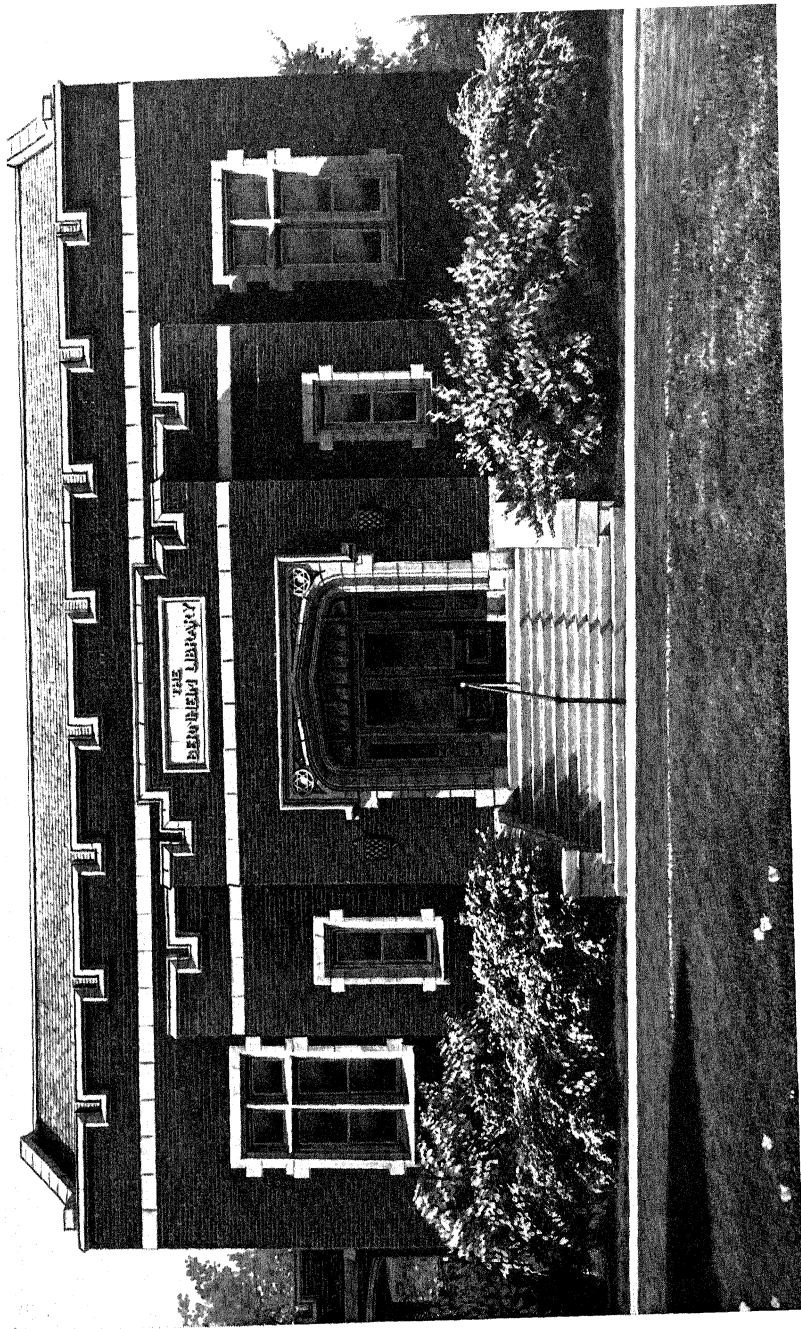
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ESSAYS IN  
AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY  
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



JACOB RADER MARCUS

*Director of the American Jewish Archives  
Since Its Inception*

# ESSAYS IN AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

*To Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary  
of the Founding*

of the

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

under the direction of

JACOB RADER MARCUS



*THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES*

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DEDICATED  
TO THOSE WHO MADE THE  
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NELSON GLUECK  
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Tenth Anniversary Volume

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## Foreword

IN 1947, by action of the Board of Governors, the American Jewish Archives was organized on the Cincinnati campus of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

The Archives' steady growth, indeed its emergence as a unique institution in American Jewish life, has been due primarily to the gifted direction which it has received from Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History. The able leadership which he has supplied has turned the Archives from a bare idea into a living reality. The assembling of archival material necessary to describe the history of Jews in this country was the first step. Thereafter, Dr. Marcus proceeded, constantly with the strong support of our Board of Governors, to establish a photoduplication laboratory and to borrow important materials for photostating or microfilming. Thus, within the relatively short space of a decade, the American Jewish Archives has succeeded in assembling over 1,000,000 pages of documentary correspondence, diaries, and congregational minutes, much of it of great historical importance.

This *Festschrift*, published on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Archives, is dedicated both to the institution and to the man who is principally responsible for its founding. Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, more than anyone else, has established the study of American Jewish history on a scientific basis and has caused the principal resources for that study to be assembled in one place.

On this occasion, I am pleased to salute him as a dear and close friend, whose scholarly achievements have brought me

## FOREWORD

personal pride. On behalf of the Board of Governors and the College-Institute family, I express the fervent prayer that he be spared for decades to come and that he be blessed with health and strength to carry even further his work in the field of American Jewish history and of our common American heritage.

NELSON GLUECK

*President*

Hebrew Union College - Jewish  
Institute of Religion



## In Appreciation

THIS *Festschrift* is, formally, a tribute to the American Jewish Archives on the tenth anniversary of its creation, more than a year late (in keeping with the well-documented tradition of scholarly celebrations), in view of the fact that the first announcement of its founding was made in the *Hebrew Union College Bulletin* in September, 1947.

Every new academic departure, every scholarly institution, is in truth the fruit of one man's labor of love. No scientific society, no scholarly library, no college, ever moved from a prospectus on paper to fulfillment in reality without the affectionate and whole-souled devotion of one man. The man who created the American Jewish Archives is Jacob Rader Marcus. The Archives is the expression of his personality, his high academic standards, his penetrating search for source materials, his love of his Judaism and of his America.

Even Professor Marcus himself is probably unable to explain just why and exactly when his vision shifted from the more traditional and, in a sense, respected study of the life of the Jews in Europe (and especially in Germany) to the vast, unexplored story of Jewish life on the North American continent. It was probably a combination of several factors: his thorough preparation for history courses at the Hebrew Union College (he has always outlined his lectures for the entire year in advance, and carefully prepared for each session), which made him deeply aware of our comparative ignorance of the Jewish past in our own land; his insight into the millennial movement of Jewish life from center to center, and his comprehension early in the 1930's that, with the growth of Hitlerism, American

Jewry must inevitably rise to international pre-eminence in the next period of Jewish history; his own boyhood in the mountains of West Virginia and a native American's love for his own land; and, finally, his personal involvement (more so than almost any American Jewish scholar) in the day-to-day solution of Jewish problems on the local scene in Cincinnati; in hundreds of other cities and towns where his students serve as rabbis and consult him by telephone and letter when plagued by their own problems, and where he has lectured and taught and learned from his audiences and hosts; and on the national scene where, in the councils of organizations like the American Jewish Historical Society, the B'nai B'rith, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Jewish Publication Society of America, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (which he has served as president), to name only a few, he has participated in efforts to mold the Jewish future in America.

During the early 1930's, Dr. Marcus was studying the contours of the contemporary Jewish scene, leading his students towards an understanding of the host of problems which plagued the Jews in the days of Hitlerism and American economic depression. Towards the middle of the decade he began, slowly, to gather source materials to help his students understand the background of their own time, to assign themes in American Jewish history for prize essay competitions, and to approve dissertation subjects in the field. Finally, in the summer of 1942, he launched the first graduate course for the study of American Jewish history ever to be taught. It was my privilege to be one of the handful of students who attended that course. Professor Marcus had already digested all the known material in the field, had chosen letters, speeches, pronouncements, and excerpts for the syllabus for the course, and outlined a methodology for the detailed

investigation of certain periods and trends which was to guide him and his students for years to come. Into that course he had poured the fruit of years of learning and self-development; he came to the teaching and writing of American Jewish history as a mature scholar, trained to understand documents, to comprehend trends, to ask the right questions, and to hew to the line of academic accuracy. This will explain the reason for his meteoric rise to leadership in a field which sorely needed the guiding hand of a scientific historian.

While Dr. Marcus was preparing for that first course, it was natural that he should think of all the questions still unanswered, of all the names of persons about whom nothing was known, of all the secrets which lay hidden in attics and basements and in the old desks of descendants of pioneers. In his travels during the 1930's he began to search through the collections of libraries and historical societies in every state of the Union, and to track down persons who might be the owners of family correspondence files dating back through the centuries. A methodical administrator, he organized an archive of his own on the third floor of his home in Cincinnati, filing away thousands of clippings, notes of interviews, photostats, pamphlets, references, and quotations. This search for raw source material continued throughout the war years. His cabinets and drawers began to bulge at the seams; his students and friends all over the country caught his enthusiasm and sent him the prizes of their own searching.

Then came 1946-1947, and Professor Marcus' recognition that the job of collecting the records of the American Jewish experience was too big, too important, and too challenging to be the side line of one man's spare time. With the enthusiastic blessing and help of Dr. Nelson Glueck and the Board of Governors, the American Jewish Archives was formally organized and housed in the old Bernheim Library on the Hebrew Union

College campus, and with a few assistants, the Professor began to collect in earnest: congregational minute books, periodical files, thousands of pages of records from local governmental and Federal archives, excerpts from will books, and on and on. The Archives rapidly came to be the one place in the country where sources for every aspect of American Jewish history would be likely to be found or at least known. No project in American Jewish history could be undertaken without consulting its vast holdings; no scholar or student would ask questions without securing some help from its Director and his staff. As the Archives passed its tenth birthday, it had already achieved renown as the greatest single depository of American Jewish historical data in existence.

The time will come (may it be far, far in the future) when other minds will guide the Archives, but always it will continue to be an extension of the mind, the personality, and the insight of its founder. It is the work of *his* hands. But his hands have been busy during this time in other ways. As author and annotator of documents, he has published works in American Jewish history, *Early American Jewry* (in two volumes), and *Memoirs of American Jews: 1775-1865* (in three), which have become standard references in the field, and has edited the semiannual journal of the Archives, containing articles and source materials of great value. He has trained a generation of scholars to investigate areas of the American Jewish experience in his own exhaustively methodical fashion. He has helped in the research and writing of virtually every volume on any aspect of his chosen field which has been published in the years since World War II. He has lectured extensively throughout the United States and Canada, presenting a historian's view of the past, present, and future of American Jewry. He has served as chairman of the Publication Committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America and is now its vice president, and

has helped immeasurably to strengthen its program. He has toured the Caribbean Sea and South America searching for archival materials. He has helped to instill new life into the American Jewish Historical Society and has served as its president for three years, giving richly of his knowledge and his charm to his associates. He has helped two generations of American Reform rabbis to achieve a clear and comprehensive picture of the community which they are to serve. He has been friend and counselor to rabbis throughout the land to the extent that they elected him president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the first since the venerable Isaac Mayer Wise to be so honored while a professor at the Hebrew Union College.

But all this does not express the man Jacob Rader Marcus. Perhaps words alone will never be able to fix him clearly. Words like "warmth," "geniality," "comprehension," "honor," "dignity," remain words; they cannot convey the experience of being with the man, sharing his thoughts, knowing his idealism, receiving his help, partaking of the excitement of discovery with him, and, above all, learning, from his vast store of knowledge, not only of Jewish history, but also of the human situation and the role of man in God's world.

Philadelphia, Pa.

BERTRAM W. KORN



*ESSAYS IN*  
*AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY*





# Jacob Rader Marcus

## A Biographical Sketch

STANLEY F. CHYET

JACOB RADER MARCUS was twenty years old in 1916. In that year, he published one of his earliest articles — in the *Jewish Community Bulletin* of Wheeling, West Virginia. The article was entitled, “America: The Spiritual Center of Jewry.” American Jewish history would have some thirty years to wait before its foundations as a scientific historical study were established, largely through the efforts of this son of immigrant parents, but already in the youth of twenty there stirred love and concern for the life of American Jewry.

\* \* \*

In the year 1889, a twenty-four-year-old immigrant named Aaron Marcus arrived in New York from Hamburg, Germany. The German port had been but a way station for the young man who had been known as Markelson in his native Lithuania and in Tiflis where he had served in the army of the Czar. Marcus was the name which Aaron Markelson had taken for himself during the months he spent in Germany. Perhaps that was how he washed away the luckless Eastern past which had

Rabbi Stanley F. Chyet is the Harrison Jules Louis Frank and Leon Harrison Frank Research Fellow in American Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

permitted a lung ailment to claim his father's young life, had invoked the May Laws of 1882 to dispossess the Markelsons of their old homestead at Podwerynka, and had compelled Aaron himself to endure five military years in the Caucasus.

New York, too, proved only a way station. Little more than a year after his arrival in America, Aaron Marcus found his way to Pittsburgh. Why he went there is unknown, but we know that he peddled his way there with a basket of notions. It was in Pittsburgh that he became an American citizen, and it was there, too, that he married Jennie Reider (pronounced "Rader"), about the year 1893. A year later, Jennie Rader Marcus gave birth to their first child, whom they named Isaac, after Aaron's father. Jennie's father, Isaiah Reider, had been a practicing physician in the Lithuanian *gubernia* of Kovno. Although lacking a medical degree, he had performed operations with anesthetics. In all likelihood, he had studied at a medical school in Russia or Austria, but in accordance with the anti-Semitic dictates of the time, had never received a diploma. During the early 1890's, he had come to New York to practice medicine, but had soon returned to Europe. Jennie and some of her sisters had remained in the United States.

After some experiences, most of which were not particularly happy, in the Pittsburgh steel mills, Aaron Marcus became a peddler of tinware. The panic of the early 1890's may have been largely responsible for his withdrawal from the steel mills. Before long he turned from peddling tinware to peddling clothing in the coal-and-coke-oven area around Connellsville and New Haven, Pennsylvania, and the Marcus family soon moved to New Haven. There, on March 5, 1896, a second son was born, Jacob Rader. Some three years later, Jennie Marcus gave birth to twins, Frank and Ethel.

Sometime after Jacob's birth, Aaron Marcus traveled briefly through East Texas, but the lawlessness of the region soon

persuaded him to return to Pennsylvania. Around 1900, when Jacob Marcus was four, the family settled in Homestead, Pennsylvania, a town on which, in 1892, the violence of the iron and steel workers' strike had conferred a dubious fame. Aaron Marcus opened a clothing store in Homestead, and the Marcuses remained in the neighborhood until 1907, when Aaron went into business on the south side of Pittsburgh.

Jacob Marcus' memories of Homestead have little to do with the labor strife that had made the town notorious four years before his birth. He remembers selling newspapers — not very successfully — with his older brother Isaac, and working in his father's store when he was no older than ten. At Theodor Herzl's death in 1904, he sold pictures of the great dreamer for the benefit of Homestead's local Zionist society, which Aaron Marcus probably served as secretary. He also attended the local afternoon *cheder* (traditional Jewish religious school), where he learned to read a few Hebrew texts, though never to translate them, and heard an occasional talmudic tale from the teacher, who was a *shohet* (ritual slaughterer) as well, and slaughtered chickens in the backyard of the synagogue. It was in Homestead, too, that Jacob Marcus' love for history first awakened. Homestead had a Carnegie library, and the young boy patronized it liberally. He began reading the historical novels of George Alfred Henty. There were dozens of the Henty juveniles, and Jacob continued to read them when the family moved to Pittsburgh. There, too, his Hebrew education was continued as, during the week, a *melammed* (religious tutor) would visit the house on Carson Street, and on Sundays the boy would cross the Monongahela to attend religious school at the Beth Midrash Hagadol on Washington Street.

Pittsburgh, as it turned out, was but another of Aaron Marcus' way stations. In 1907 or 1908, his business failed, and the family moved to Wheeling, West Virginia, where it remained

some eight years. Here, in Wheeling, Jacob Marcus began high school, became *bar mitzvah* (attained, in traditional fashion, his religious majority) at the Orthodox synagogue, and attended Sunday school at the Eoff Street Reform Congregation, whose rabbi at the time was Harry Levi, later of Temple Israel in Boston. It was Marcus' first contact with Reform Jewry and the Reform rabbinate.

About two years after the family's arrival in Wheeling, Marcus was confirmed at the Reform temple — in June, 1910. He continued, however, to regard himself as an Orthodox Jew, and the fact that "ethnic" lines were at the time drawn rather sharply in towns like Wheeling only strengthened his views. When, therefore, in 1910, Rabbi Levi suggested to him that he consider a career in the Reform rabbinate, the young confirmand balked. Levi, in whose debt Marcus has always felt himself, had been impressed by the boy's achievements at the Sunday school. Even at that early age, largely as a result of his voracious reading of historical novels and the example of his father, who loved to read the Hebrew Bible, Jacob Marcus had acquired a noteworthy command of biblical history. He was the outstanding student at the Sunday school. Levi's suggestion, however, did not please the Marcus family, to whom at the time the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Solomon Schechter's Conservative school in New York, appeared more attractive than the Hebrew Union College, the Reform seminary in Cincinnati. The rabbi was persistent, nonetheless, and in addition to teaching his young protégé Hebrew translation and grammar, he lent him a number of Jewish books. At about the same time, the boy read Israel Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, a book which greatly appealed to him. His growing interest in history was further reflected in the pleasure which he derived from his classes in ancient and medieval history at the Wheeling high school, where he also studied some Latin.

Jacob Marcus was fifteen in 1911. In the fall of that year, he went to Cincinnati to begin his rabbinical training at the Hebrew Union College, which was then located on Sixth Street, in the downtown slums, and was presided over by Kaufmann Kohler. He attended classes at Woodward and later at Hughes High School in the morning, and went to the seminary in the afternoon. After graduating from Hughes in 1913, he matriculated at the University of Cincinnati and continued his studies at the College. An observant Orthodox adolescent in the heart of Reform, the "émigré" from Wheeling was, initially at least, somewhat frightened and homesick. The intellectual growth which he underwent in the "Queen City" was, however, unconscious, but impressive. In high school, he studied English literature, particularly Shakespeare, as well as Latin, Greek, and German. Around 1913, he also studied ecclesiastical history for a year, at Cincinnati's Lane Theological Seminary. He was the best student in the class — much to the astonishment, no doubt, of his classmates and instructors, who must have wondered at the precocious youngster. Some of them attempted to convert the "young Hebrew," as they called him, but Marcus, who had come to understand that they meant him no harm, was not offended. The experience of living closely with Christians for the first time in his life tended to broaden his spiritual horizons. Years later, when he participated in Reform-sponsored Institutes of Judaism for the Christian clergy, the constant give and take of argument with Christian clergymen served to extend his horizons even further and, at the same time, to give him a precise understanding of the liberal faith towards which he had slowly and painfully made his way.

At the University, Marcus was particularly enthralled by Merrick Whitcomb's lectures on medieval history and on the French Revolution. Marcus' exposure to American history, curiously enough, appeared anything but promising; he was

only negatively impressed by Isaac Joslin Cox, who lectured in that subject.

The Hebrew Union College, which shortly after Marcus' arrival in Cincinnati had moved to its present site on Clifton Avenue, offered him an intellectual experience rather different from the one which he was afforded at the University. There, at the College, under the exacting guidance of Julian Morgenstern and Henry Englander, Jacob Marcus made substantial gains in his grasp of Hebrew grammar and biblical criticism. Although, in spare moments during those early years in Cincinnati, he had begun to read the English translation of Heinrich Graetz's *History of the Jews* purely for pleasure, he came before very long to detect in himself more than a passing taste for general Jewish history. Scholarship grants enabled him to begin building a large Jewish library, and he read widely, if not wisely. Almost from the very beginning, he evinced a warm interest in the history of his people. A more formal instruction in Jewish history was provided him at the College by Gotthard Deutsch. It was Deutsch, more than anyone else at the time, or perhaps even since, who made Marcus alive to the study that was ultimately to become the substance of his intellectual life. Marcus himself has said of Deutsch:

He became a great influence on me. In part, he influenced me because of his personality. For the most part, I was influenced by his method. He was essentially a skeptic, a realist. He believed practically nothing in history. He believed only in facts, and wanted to be pretty sure before he would accept the fact. He was in essence an annalist. He was also a great deal of a debunker . . . Deutsch emphasized the anecdote, social history, and was very much interested in the details of the lives of individuals. I was influenced by this approach.\*

The extent to which this influence continued to operate, the fruit which it bore, commands perhaps no testimony more

\* This and the following direct quotations are taken from a brief autobiographical manuscript prepared by Dr. Marcus.

eloquent than the two volumes of *Early American Jewry* and the three of *Memoirs of American Jews: 1775-1865* which Marcus, by then become one of the most distinguished of American rabbis and Jewish historians, was to publish some three and a half decades later.

Julian Morgenstern, too, exerted a considerable influence on the developing young scholar. Morgenstern, to be sure, was "a severe teacher," but Marcus "learned to enjoy his classes" in biblical criticism. From Morgenstern he "really learned the critical method." It was, as the years would bear abundant witness, a lesson of paramount importance and value.

Yet Marcus was not content with Cincinnati alone. During one of his vacations from the College, he spent a financially precarious summer at the University of Chicago Divinity School where, among other things, he waited on tables and studied Egyptian history with James H. Breasted.

In 1914, the Hebrew Union College student body founded its own literary magazine. The first number of the *Hebrew Union College Monthly* appeared in June of that year under the editorship of an upperclassman, Abba Hillel Silver. Eight issues were published that first year, and the last two, dated April and May of 1915, included two book reviews by a member of the class of 1919, Jacob Marcus. As he himself has said, he "worked very laboriously" on these productions. In one of them, a review of Israel Cohen's *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, Marcus took Cohen to task for forgetting, in his Zionist zeal, that he was "supposed to be an impartial historian." Later, in 1917, Marcus himself became editor of the *Hebrew Union College Monthly*.

It was in 1916 that Marcus received his first professional fee — \$10.00 — from Joseph Jacobs, the editor of the *American Hebrew*, for an article on the famous Eastern European Yiddish writer, Mendele Mocher Seforim. Conscientious scholar that

he already was, it was a source of some grief to him that he had had to work from secondary sources only, and the ten dollars did not make him feel any better. He was all too painfully aware of his inadequate grasp of primary materials, not to mention his meager knowledge of the classical languages and of rabbinic Hebrew. During the years to come, he went to great pains to make up the deficiency.

On April 6, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson led the United States into the war against Germany, and all of Marcus' scholastic plans were temporarily suspended. Some three weeks later, on the thirtieth of April, two months before he was to receive his B.A. degree from the University of Cincinnati, Marcus volunteered as a private in the United States Army, although as a theological student he was exempt from the draft. Fortunately, during the first months with the Army, Marcus was stationed in Ohio and was able to take his baccalaureate at the University in June.

The Army, by Marcus' own testimony, "settled" him. He "ran into some anti-Semitism, but, on the whole, . . . was well treated." Shortly after his graduation from the University of Cincinnati, he was sent to France, where he spent some nine or ten months with the American Expeditionary Force. Happily, though under fire on several occasions, he was spared participation in active engagements, and passed most of his French sojourn in a relatively quiet sector. Throughout his military service, he conducted religious services for his Jewish comrades, frequently right behind the lines. Out of his wartime experiences came a number of articles, including "The Jewish Soldier" in the *Hebrew Union College Monthly* in 1918, "Lost: Judaism in the AEF; the Urgent Need for Welfare Workers" in the *American Hebrew* in 1919, and, in the same year, "Religion and the Jewish Soldier" in *The Community Voice of the Allentown* [Pa.]



*Jewish Community Center.* By the time he was separated from the service in May, 1919, he had risen to a second lieutenant's rank and was the acting commander of his company in the 145th United States Infantry. He was then twenty-three years old.

In June, 1920, a year after his return from the Army, Jacob Marcus was ordained a rabbi at the College in Cincinnati. In fulfillment of the College's requirements for ordination, he had written a thesis of some 200 pages, *An Investigation into Polish Jewish Life of the Sixteenth Century with Special Reference to Isaac ben Abraham, Author of Hizzuk Emunah*. Shortly after Marcus' ordination, David Philipson, the rabbi of Cincinnati's Bene Israel Congregation and a powerful member of the College's Board of Governors, recommended to President Kohler that the young scholar be appointed to the College faculty as an instructor in Bible and Rabbinics. At first, the new instructor was authorized to teach only biblical history and other subjects in Bible and Rabbinics, but on Deutsch's death in 1921, Marcus found himself in charge of all the College's classes in general Jewish history. He also found himself among the executors of Deutsch's literary estate, an experience that in itself was to have meaning for his future development:

When I saw how [Deutsch's] books were thrown around, I lost all respect for books as sacred entities in themselves. Since that time, I have never hesitated, when necessary, to destroy a book by marking it as I saw fit. I have learned that books are instruments and not masters.

Deutsch, his brilliance, critical acumen, and insight notwithstanding, had been a thoroughly unsystematic teacher. Now, under Marcus' aegis, the students at the College had to read Jewish history systematically for the first time in a generation. Yet his new duties quickly convinced Marcus that his

own inadequacies in the field of Jewish history stood in need of substantial correction, and he determined to subject himself to the discipline of a European training.

The Marcus family had, in the meantime, moved to Farmington, West Virginia, where at length it had achieved a measure of prosperity. With his father's help, therefore, the erstwhile soldier found it possible, in the summer of 1922, to return to Europe, this time as a student. He remained there four years.

Marcus' European pilgrimage had been motivated primarily by his desire to study with Ismar Elbogen at Berlin's Jewish theological seminary, the *Lehranstalt*. For the most part, however, as it turned out, he studied at the University of Berlin. Originally it had been his intention to explore the social and economic history of the Middle Ages, but he soon discovered that he was inadequately equipped to execute his plan and that, in many areas, he would have to "start from scratch," as it were. He sought for himself, therefore, private instruction in Medieval Latin, Hebrew, and Middle High German. Among his tutors was Fritz Baer, whom Marcus has since characterized as, "technically, the greatest historian we [Jews] have yet produced."

Perhaps the chief of his obstacles, Marcus found, was his lack of ease in reading German. It took him a year before he was able to read German with a measure of fluency, and at length, in the summer of 1923, finding that he had too much occasion to speak English — and too little to speak German — in Berlin, he went to Kiel to perfect his grasp of the language. He did learn German in Kiel, but missed there Berlin's Jewish associations, so vital, he felt, to his Jewish development. He also missed in Kiel the stimulus of men like Fritz Baer and Jacob Jacobson, the archivist for German Jewry, and the companionship of the 'cellist Maurice Eisenberg, a fellow

American. He missed, too, the warmth of the Chassidic services to which he had been attracted in Berlin's East European ghetto and the glow of the ultra-Orthodox Adath Israel Synagogue of which, liberal religionist though he was, he had become a contributing member. Other Berlin synagogues, notably the Jewish Reform Congregation in the Johannisstrasse and the Orthodox Alte Synagoge in the Heidereutergasse, failed to compel his interest. Marcus' intimates are well aware of the fact that the former West Virginian with his dry humor and his ironic "wisecracks" is no "highbrow." He is not overly fond of pompous people. As in later years with music, so now with synagogal worship, he preferred *schmaltz* to elegance and restraint.

Life in Germany proved "desperately lonely" for him. It was, in many respects, the first year in Cincinnati all over again. He was compelled to work very hard, and found little time to make friends. The loneliness was somewhat alleviated, however, in the summer of 1923 when three College friends from Cincinnati — Nelson Glueck, Walter E. Rothman, and Sheldon H. Blank — arrived in Germany to pursue doctoral studies. In that year of 1923, Marcus also met Antoinette Brody, a young music student from New York.

The scholastic labors which Marcus had so tirelessly endured since his arrival in Berlin three years before led, in October, 1925, to his Ph.D. degree. Since the University authorities in Berlin declined to accept a Jewish subject, he was advised to write his doctoral dissertation on the mercantile relations between England and the Hanseatic League. That dissertation, *Die handelspolitischen Beziehungen zwischen England und Deutschland in den Jahren 1576-1585*, was published in Berlin by Eberling in 1925. It was dedicated to "Pretty Nettie Brody."

By the spring of 1924, Marcus had fallen in love with Antoinette Brody, and at the end of 1925, the two were married

in Paris, where he had gone to study French. After a brief honeymoon, Antoinette returned to Berlin to continue her studies. Marcus had intended to remain in Paris for some time, but a few days later followed "Pretty Nettie" back to Berlin.

In the fall of 1926, Marcus returned to Cincinnati, but not until he had first spent three months in Palestine. His hope had been to learn modern Hebrew, but it had met with only partial realization. Four difficult years in Europe had left him too fatigued to endure the rigors of a *kibbutz* existence, and it was in the *kibbutzim* that Hebrew-speaking people were to be found. He did, however, learn to read modern Hebrew.

Formidable though his years abroad had been, and insuperable as some of the obstacles which he encountered must have seemed, the European sojourn was of permanent value to him. In Europe, Marcus had found — and seized upon — the opportunity to become a cultured as well as a learned human being. Despite his thralldom to a relentless doctoral program, he had found time to associate with artists, musicians, and other people of culture. The association had not failed of effect. He had, moreover, disciplined himself to accept the unremitting demands of a life of scientific scholarship. If, in the years to come, that would not lead to a life of great leisure and social activity, it would lead to a life of personal creativity and achievement. He was fortunate, too, for although Antoinette's interests were primarily musical, she remained admirably patient with all the demands which her husband's academic work made on both their lives and did everything to further Marcus' career. His wife's gaiety and *joie de vivre*, moreover, presented a much-needed contrast to Marcus' tense and even hypersensitive temperament.

The years which followed his return to the College in 1926 presented him with many opportunities and many challenges. In May of 1929, his wife bore him a daughter, Merle, now an

accomplished musician and actress living in New York City. His relationship to her has always been very close, and the two have always enjoyed a warm *camaraderie*. The year 1929 also brought the bitter hardship of the great depression. New problems and responsibilities beset him upon the death of Aaron Marcus in April, 1932. Marcus' courses at the College were subject, moreover, to frequent changes, and he was constantly under the necessity of exploring new areas of Jewish scholarship. In the course of his years at the College, he found himself entrusted with classes in history, Bible, Rabbinics, modern Hebrew, ceremonials, and other subjects. Yet, as a teacher, he learned a great deal.

Particularly in Jewish history, Marcus achieved for himself an excellent background. Early in his career, he worked through all the eleven volumes of Graetz's *History of the Jews*, both in German and in Hebrew, and with all the notes. For Marcus, Graetz was, and remained, "the great master." He has said of Graetz:

He is a fabulous figure, and I am annoyed when people attack him. His arrangement of material is bad, but he had vision and ideas, imagination and verve, and a tremendous capacity to absorb material. On the whole, his methodology is excellent. He is as much a genius for the Jews as [Leopold von] Ranke for general history. It is too bad that Graetz never came to history as a [professional] historian, but primarily as a literary historian.

Marcus himself worked through many of the basic source materials. Unlike Graetz, he had come to Jewish history as a professional historian with a general historical background. In his approach to history, Marcus made every effort to avoid an unscientific chauvinism. It was rather accuracy and critical methodology that occupied him and fashioned his presentation of historical material. He had "no special angles as a Jew in writing history," and the general background always seemed

important to him. He attempted, then as now, to interpret his material "in the light of its own time and ideals and prejudices, but at the same time . . . to relate the material to present-day Jewish life and institutions and present-day Jewish interests. . . ." And so, as the years following his return from Europe passed, he continued to work and to grow. A spate of articles issued from his study. Still, as an ominous "New Order" dawned in Central Europe, no book had come from his pen.

Actually, Marcus *had* written a "book" in 1928. Published in the thirty-eighth volume of the *Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook*, it had simply not appeared in book form. That first "book" was "Israel Jacobson," a study of the founder of German Reform. In Marcus' opinion, "nothing better has ever been written" on the subject, and he still considers it one of his best works. It was subsequently republished as an offprint.

With the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, Marcus found himself importuned to write on the situation as it affected the Jews. Reluctant at first to do so, he consented at length, and in 1934 — the same year in which he became a full professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College — the Union of American Hebrew Congregations published his first "hard-cover" book, *The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew*. The work went through two editions, and a year later extracts from it were published under the title, "Les Juifs et le Nouvel État Allemand," in *L'Univers Israélite* of Paris. In this book, Marcus made certain predictions concerning the future of German Jewry. The fact that later events proved most of them wrong has always been a source of wry amusement to him. As Marcus himself has said, this did not mean that he was a poor historian:

When it comes down to guessing, dealing with human intentions, the ignoramus is just as competent as the scientist. The ignoramus has a fifty per cent chance of being right which is just as much or just as little as the scientist has.

Marcus' next work of singular importance did not appear until 1938. In that year, he published a documentary anthology, *The Jew in the Medieval World: a Source Book: 315-1791*. In preparing that book, Marcus investigated hundreds of different medieval Jewish sources. He was able, consequently, to acquire an exceedingly thorough background in the entire field of medieval Jewish history. In the meantime, in 1935, he had published *A Brief Introduction to the Bibliography of Modern Jewish History* and, in 1937, with Albert T. Bilgray, *An Index to Jewish Festschriften*.

With the publication of *The Jew in the Medieval World*, Marcus believed that he had found the field in which he wanted to work: the social, cultural, and economic background of Central European Jewry from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Many of the materials relevant to this period, both printed matter and manuscripts, were in Early Modern Yiddish, which he had learned to read with facility. In the course of time, he assembled a large archives of original material, mastered much of the technical terminology, and learned a great deal about the societal structure of the period. A decade of work in this research culminated at length in a number of essays and in a book, *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto*, published by the Hebrew Union College Press in 1947. The book, based as it is on rarely exploited sources, remains *sui generis* in Jewish historical research. In May of the preceding year, the Board of Governors appointed him the Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History.

By the time that *Communal Sick-Care* appeared, the extent of the Nazi atrocities had been revealed, and Marcus knew that the Central European Jewry to whose earlier history he had so long devoted himself was now no more than a ghostly shambles. The Hitlerian catastrophe was a terrible shock to this man who had written in 1934 that,

barring wholesale expulsion or massacre, which seem rather remote even under the implacable hatred of the National Socialists, what has been called the "Jewish genius for survival" will manifest itself in Germany. (*The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew*, p. 300)

Marcus knew now, in 1947, that for the Jews, "Europe was dead." For him, too, it was dead. The training and background in research which he had developed over the years in dealing with European Jewish history he directed now to an investigation of American Jewish history.

It was not, however, a sudden *volte-face*. As he himself has said,

By 1943, I was veering toward American Jewish history, although I did not realize that I was. I had long realized that America was to be the great center of Jewish life for the future. I had known it years before this.

As early as March, 1931, in a Founder's Day address delivered at the Hebrew Union College, Marcus had turned his attention to "The Americanization of Isaac Mayer Wise," and all through the 1930's he had come to place increased emphasis on American Jewry in his courses on general Jewish history. In 1933, the second volume of *The American Scholar* had included an article which he had written on "Zionism and the American Jew." As early, indeed, as 1934, he had been a member of the American Jewish Historical Society. In 1942, although by no means fully aware of the extent of the Hitlerian tragedy, he nevertheless "sensed the growing importance of American Jewish history," for in the summer of that year he had conducted the first required course in American Jewish history to be given in an American college. It was a year later that he had drawn up "A Brief Bibliography of American Jewish History" for the *Jewish Book Annual*, 1943-44, and had written an article on "Jews" for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The latter dealt with Jewish life in the modern world and contained material relating



to Jews in the United States. Reprinted in subsequent issues of the *Britannica*, it was the first attempt at a scientific account of American Jewish history in a standard reference work.

It was during the 1940's that, spurred by his growing interest in American Jewish history, Marcus suggested to his old friend, Walter E. Rothman, then librarian of the Hebrew Union College, that an American Jewish archives be developed at the Library. With Rothman's aid, a collection of American Jewish materials was initiated. In 1946, as chairman of its Committee on Contemporary History and Literature, Marcus recommended to the Central Conference of American Rabbis, convened in Chicago, that congregations undertake to collect and preserve all their records, and in the following year he recommended to the Montreal convention of the Central Conference that the National Jewish Welfare Board be requested to sponsor a "Jewish History Week." Nine years before, Marcus had prevailed upon his friend, Frank L. Weil, of the Jewish Welfare Board, to allocate to the American Jewish Historical Society a substantial sum to finance the Society's quarterly. Although, a few years later, the Welfare Board found it necessary to withdraw its support from the venture, the Society was able to continue publication of its journal.

In 1947, one of Marcus' great dreams was realized. In that year, Marcus asked President Nelson Glueck's support for the nascent archives, and was instructed to establish a more extensive, separate national institution. With the help of J. Victor Greenebaum, a Cincinnati physician and a member of the Hebrew Union College Board of Governors, the board's financial support was obtained, and the American Jewish Archives was established on the Cincinnati campus with its own building and staff and with Marcus as its Director. In time, the Archives became the largest institution of its kind, not only in the American Jewish, but in the general Jewish world as well. Literally

hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of pages of American Jewish historical materials, many of them on microfilm, were assembled under its roof, and in June, 1948, the first number of the semiannual *American Jewish Archives* was published.

In the decade since its founding, the Archives has become one of the major research centers of American Jewish history, with the result, as Marcus has said, that "no history of American Jewry can be written without recourse to [its] material." Among the Archives' holdings today are huge collections of the minutes of Jewish congregations and of various Jewish societies as well as many special collections, including the papers, originals or copies, of the colonial Rhode Island merchant-prince Aaron Lopez, the Canadian merchant Samuel Jacobs, Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Felix M. Warburg, Julius Rosenwald, and a host of prominent rabbis and Jewish lay leaders. The basic records of American Jewry since the eighteenth century, as well as many seventeenth-century materials, are well represented in the Archives, and many of these sources have been catalogued so as to facilitate their use by scholars. In addition, detailed indices of American Jewish materials in European periodical literature have been prepared.

Not content with these achievements, Marcus has enlisted the aid of interested scholars, largely students and graduates of the College, in preparing a number of reference works basic to research in American Jewish history. It is not too much to say that he has created a "school" of American Jewish history. Dozens of graduates have written rabbinic theses in this new field. Thus he encouraged Earl A. Grollman to compile a lexicon of seventeenth-century American Jews, published as a "Dictionary of American Jewish Biography in the Seventeenth Century" in the *American Jewish Archives* of June, 1950; and he assisted Joseph R. Rosenbloom in the preparation of a similar lexicon for eighteenth-century American Jewry. Under his

guidance, Allan Tarshish has written on nineteenth-century German American Jewry, and Malcolm H. Stern has drawn up the genealogical tables so necessary and hitherto so woefully lacking in this research. He has, furthermore, inspired Bertram W. Korn to publish a number of valuable books, including *American Jewry and the Civil War*, *Eventful Years and Experiences: Studies in Nineteenth Century American Jewish History*, and *The American Reaction to The Mortara Case: 1858-1859*, the latter two published by the Archives itself. Among other ventures sponsored by the Archives are an index to Isaac Leeser's periodical, *The Occident*, from 1843 to 1869, currently being prepared by Abraham I. Shinedling; a supplement to Abraham S. Wolf Rosenbach's bibliographical work on American Judaica up to 1850; and a projected bibliographical catalogue to list all American Judaica from 1851 to 1860.

In the spring of 1956, Marcus established the American Jewish Periodical Center for the microfilming of every Jewish serial published in the United States between 1823 and 1925, and of a selective group after that. The purpose of the Center is to make available to Jewish scholars throughout the world microfilms of Jewish periodical literature on interlibrary loan.

Yet in the midst of all these activities, and in the face of a protracted illness which led to the death of Antoinette Marcus in July, 1953, Marcus continued to teach at the College and to pursue his own research projects. He continued also to build his private library of Americana. Comprising an extensive collection of manuscript as well as printed materials, it is probably the most complete grouping of the basic tools of American Jewish historical research in existence. In 1949, his colleagues in the Reform rabbinate had honored him with election to the presidency of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. In 1956, his colleagues in American Jewish scholarship

paid their tribute by electing him to the presidency of the American Jewish Historical Society.

In 1951, the Jewish Publication Society of America published the first of his two volumes of *Early American Jewry*. This dealt with the Jews of New York, New England, and Canada between 1649 and 1794. The second volume, dealing with the Jews of Pennsylvania and the South between 1655 and 1790, was published by the Society in 1953. As had been the case with *Communal Sick-Care* in European Jewish historical research, so, too, in American Jewish historical research, *Early American Jewry* was *sui generis*. About a fourth of the second volume was devoted to a survey of American Jewry's first century and a half. The Jewish Publication Society said of that survey that "for brevity, clarity, and inclusiveness nothing like it has yet been done." Indeed, among the handful of books that constitute the scientific literature of American Jewish history, nothing can rank higher than the two volumes of *Early American Jewry*. Yet, for all that, the volumes were written with such skill that the lay reader, not to mention the scientific historian, could approach them with as much pleasure as profit.

*Early American Jewry* was followed, in 1955, by *Memoirs of American Jews: 1775-1865*, three volumes of American Jewish autobiographical material. Published by the Jewish Publication Society, these volumes, too, will serve as a basic source for mid-nineteenth-century American Jewish history.

Honors, sorrows, and achievements have not caused Marcus to slacken in his labors. He appears virtually tireless in pursuit of the goals which he has set for himself and for a scientific American Jewish history. He has just completed a large-scale documentary collection dealing with eighteenth-century American Jewry. It is scheduled to appear in the winter of 1958. For some years, too, he has been working on a history of Colonial American Jewry through 1776. He plans then "to write a

brief general history of American Jewry and to sum up [his] studies and researches in the field." His approach to the work which he has undertaken with such ardor and dedication, and with such notable results, is nowhere better expressed than in his own words:

I have no specific philosophy of American Jewish history. As in general Jewish history, I believe that the Jew is closely integrated with his background. This is particularly true in America where the Jews have never been a distinct political group, but always part of the American body politic. I am very much interested in the religious, social, economic, and cultural life of the Jew here. I believe that he is a cultural entity, has always been one, and will always remain one. I believe that every datum in American Jewish history must be carefully analyzed from the Jewish and the general points of view, in relationship to Jewish and general backgrounds. I think it is a mistake, however, to relate Jewish history too closely to some of the major movements in general American history. . . . The American Jew is not completely subject to his general American background. His history may be, to a certain extent, independent of that background, although that background must always be very closely studied.

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We have had rather little to say of Marcus in relationship to his students — and for the best of reasons. This man has exerted so profound and incalculable an influence, both personal and professional, on those who have studied under him that, in writing of him, it is difficult to avoid a degree of feeling which would acutely embarrass him. Suffice it, then, to say that no man in the world of Jewish scholarship today could be more universally or more deservedly loved and revered. Were it only for the deep interest which Marcus has always taken in his students and for the unaffected sympathy which he has always evinced for their problems, personal as well as academic, this would be true. But there has been much more: his qualities of personal warmth and graciousness, blended as they are with a

stern and unrelenting quest for truth and for accuracy, have significantly broadened the horizons of knowledge and perception for more than a few students.

Alive to the challenge of the past, Marcus has never lost sight of the future. Whatever the devotion and concentration which he has summoned to his study of the Jewish past, it has, all of it, been motivated by devotion and concern for the Jewish future. That future will be immeasurably the richer for his labors in its behalf.

# A Decisive Pattern in American Jewish History

ELLIS RIVKIN

THE history of the Jews is a history of involvement. It is not simply the history of a people living in a specific geographical area whose development can be treated as something largely distinct and separate. Jewish history is not the history of a self-evolving entity. It is always, at one and the same time, both a history of that which is distinct, that which has had its special delineation in time, and of that which is interwoven with the fate of empires and civilizations. The history of the Jews is intermeshed with the history of the ancient Near East, the Hellenistic world, the Roman Empire, the Sassanian dynasty, and the Moslem, Christian, and Western civilizations. It cannot be torn from its larger context, although it is not identical with that context.

Each society in which the Jews grappled with the problems of existence was radically different from the society which had immediately preceded it in time, or from a contemporaneous society in another place. Medieval, feudal Christendom was structurally very different from the pagan Roman Empire. The Moslem structure, although existing alongside medieval, feudal Christendom, was by no means identical with it. These structures in turn were made up of substructures, diverse one from the

Dr. Ellis Rivkin is Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

other and often in conflict with each other. At all times we are confronted with unity embracing diversity and with identity enclosing difference. The Jews in their involvement refract the unity and diversity, the identity and difference which characterize the historical continuum.

Since Jewish history has been as diverse as that of civilization itself, generalizations are inadequate to comprehend it in all its manifestations. Jewish institutional forms, for example, have varied from society to society. They have been monarchical, aristocratic, oligarchical, republican, and democratic. Jews themselves have been naive and sophisticated, rationalistic and mystical, legalistic and moralistic, heretical and traditional, liberal and reactionary, scholarly and ignorant, saintly and sinful. They have been slaveowners and slaves, merchants and farmers, moneylenders and artisans, capitalists and proletarians, rich and poor. They have, in a word, been human beings wrestling with, and reacting to, the problems of life in the context of their changing economic, social, political, and religious relationships. The uniqueness of Jewish history, therefore, does not derive from any uniqueness of the Jew as a human being, but from the character and the implication of a history of involvement.

This involvement, however diverse, reveals a persistent pattern. No matter how different the society, no matter what the dominant ideology, the Jews in each case experienced a phase of acceptance and well-being linked to the expansion of that society, and a phase of rejection and persecution linked to the disintegration and collapse of that society. Every society reveals this pattern. The fate of the Jews has always been inextricably bound up with the fate of the larger society. Each unique experience has thus revealed, at a different level of complexity, a repetitive pattern.

Is there a uniqueness that characterizes the history of the



Jews in the United States? If there is such a uniqueness, does it display the repetitive pattern? Is the fate of the Jews in the United States inextricably bound up with the fate of the country? And if its fate is thus bound up with that of the Jews, will this society go the way of all previous societies, or will its ultimate fate be different?

The history of the United States may be said to be unique in that it manifests a historical evolution which is dominated by the dynamics of expanding capitalism. Although capitalism arose in Europe and penetrated every part of the world, it found its most unrestricted expression in the United States. In no other area did capitalism find so few obstacles to its restless dynamism, and nowhere else did it achieve so vast and so continuous a success.

The uniqueness of Jewish experience in the United States is thus to be sought in the relationship of the Jews to capitalism in its purest manifestation. Never before in their history had Jews been involved in such a structure. Although it is true that the Jews in seventeenth-century England and Holland — and, to a lesser extent, in France and Germany — were radically affected by the new economic system, capitalism never became so decisive in Europe as it did later in the United States. Whereas in Europe the Jews only gradually came to experience capitalism as it transformed a previous economic and social structure of which they were part, in the United States the Jews, from the outset, came into contact with capitalism as the dominant and decisive system of production.

This essay is intended primarily as a study of the broad, historical implications of this experience. We shall analyze the effects of capitalistic development on the old order in Europe, so that we may discover the roots of emigration, and we shall analyze also the character of capitalistic development in the United States, so as to discover the dynamics of immigration.

We shall observe the contrast between the impact of capitalism on Europe, with its precapitalist structures, and on the United States, where the impediments were less stubborn and resistant. We shall then be in a position to assess the meaning of this unique historic experience in its relationship to previous patterns.\*

# I

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the vast growth and expansion of commercial capitalism. The centers of this commercial activity were concentrated in such seaports as London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. From these ports trade reached out across the Atlantic to the newly founded colonies in North America, to the trading settlements in Central and South America, to the Indies and China, across the Mediterranean to the Levant, and through the interior of Germany to the capitals of the numerous princely states. Among the merchant capitalists who carried on these far-flung enterprises were many Jews, a good proportion of whom had once been Marranos in Spain and Portugal, but who had subsequently settled in Lon-

\* This essay does not purport to be a detailed analysis of American Jewish history, nor does it pretend to deal with it in all its aspects. In considering any structural phase, one must discern its relationship not only to the prior structure, but also to the structure yet to emerge. Every structure will be found to have some remnants of the previous structure as well as some intimations of the structure which is yet to be. In considering capitalism in its various phases, therefore, I have stressed its dominant structural components. I am aware, of course, that elements of a prior phase remain important and active. Undoubtedly there are even today some farmers who till the soil as did their great-grandfathers; there are, assuredly, many shopkeepers whose way of doing business differs very little from the way in which it was done at the turn of the century; and there are still open-air markets where produce is sold from stalls. Yet one can scarcely claim that the structure of our contemporary society is that of the nineteenth century. In this essay emphasis has been placed upon the dynamic elements of structural change, rather than on the particulars which constitute the whole at any given moment.

don, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. These Spanish-Portuguese Jews were permitted and even encouraged to engage in commercial capitalist ventures, some of which brought them into contact with the trading cities of the Western Hemisphere.

Another group of entrepreneurs who had always been professing Jews made its appearance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were the Court Jews, who served the princes of Germany in a variety of ways. They provisioned the armies, minted money, organized trade, and provided luxury goods for the lavish courts. Their commercial activities kept them in constant touch with the great trading centers of London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg in the West, and with the important trading centers of Poland in the East.

These Court Jews made use of agents who frequently settled in the great maritime centers and undertook employment in the trading house of some wealthy Jewish merchant. Some of these enterprising young men were sent off as agents to America or went on their own account. Frequently they took advantage of the capitalistic opportunities in the colonies to buy some goods with their savings and to become merchant capitalists themselves. Some of them remained permanently in the colonies, either continuing to represent the firm, or completely freeing themselves from their ties and becoming independent capitalists, engaged in trade and land speculation.

The emigration of Jews from Europe was thus an aspect of commercial capitalism. North America beckoned to enterprising, risk-taking individuals who would engage in trade and commerce. It was those Jews who were swept, irrespective of their place of origin, into the capitalist orbit that became immigrants. The Jews who had established themselves as successful merchants in Europe did not, as a rule, emigrate, and those — the overwhelming majority — who had not even been touched by commercial capitalism likewise remained where they were. The

majority of the first Jewish settlers in the colonies was made up of capitalistic merchants and tradesmen, enterprising individuals who were seeking to better themselves.

The character of colonial society encouraged precisely this type of Jewish immigration. The merchant capitalist was a highly respected member of eighteenth-century society, and a Jewish capitalist merchant was viewed in terms of his class and function rather than his religion. For this reason, merchants like Aaron Lopez, the Gomezes, and the Frankses, not to mention others of similar enterprise if less affluence, were regarded with respect and admiration.

That Jews did not come to settle in large numbers, although the seventeenth-century was a very harsh one for most of the Jews in Germany and Poland, is to be explained by the fact that, aside from trade, only capitalistic enterprise, farming, and handwork offered opportunities in America. The major sources of peasant emigration in the eighteenth century were England, Ireland, France and, to some extent, Germany. But in England and France the Jews had scarcely any contact with the peasants, since only Jews who were merchant capitalists had been allowed to settle in these countries. The Jews, therefore, could not accompany the peasants of these areas when the latter were set in motion by advancing capitalism. The sprinkling of Jews in the colonies and in the early republic is thus explained by the fact that commercial capitalism determined the character and the extent of emigration and immigration.

The framework in which Jewish life in America had its inception and unfolding was from the outset radically different from any which the Jews had experienced previously. Virtually from the moment when the Jews set foot in this country, their destiny became linked with that of capitalism. This was the only area in the world where capitalism was the very source of its life and where capitalism and its corresponding institutions

could develop with little hindrance from an earlier system of production and from the structures that had been involved in it. The North American colonies were primarily capitalistic outposts pressing against the barriers of mountain and forest, and although formalized religious establishments, whether indigenous or European in origin, were operative in most of the colonies, they never became so firmly rooted in the American environment as similar or corresponding establishments had been in Europe. Indeed, the churches that flourished in this country were already at least once removed from the ecclesiastical institutions of the medieval world. Anglicanism as established on these shores was perhaps closest to the medieval norm, but Puritanism already represented a considerable deviation from Anglican doctrine and government. In New England, Puritanism took the form of the Congregational churches and ministered as such to the capitalist merchant class and the free yeomanry. The Middle Colonies were already infested with a variety of deviant beliefs, and in some cities, for example, Philadelphia, Deism had made considerable progress. Thus even before the Revolution no church establishment existed in the solid sense that such establishments existed in England, France, or Germany.

Nor did any other medieval institution gain a strong foothold in this country. A hereditary aristocracy with legally confirmed privileges never took root here. Guilds never developed as privileged and monopolistic entities. Although Negro slavery existed, all attempts at securing a permanent, unfree, white agricultural class were unsuccessful. The European husbandman in this country was virtually from the start a free farmer.

The economic structure, even before the Revolution, thus displayed the character of relatively free capitalism, wherein commodities were produced and profit was sought. It was an economic structure which encouraged fluidity and mobility, and which rewarded the enterprising and the thrifty. It flour-

ished in a political and ideological framework that was receptive to its needs and responsive to its drives.

The response of such a society to the Jews was thoroughly in keeping with its character to the extent that if the institutions of a medieval orientation had been strong, there would have been opposition to the Jews. Since, however, the strength of such institutions was relatively slight and became ever slighter with the years, the Jew came to be evaluated strictly in terms of his functional role. This functional role, as we have seen, was that of an enterprising merchant on a large or small scale, and the evaluation of the Jew's role was generally to be as positive as the role itself at the time.

The thoroughly middle-class character of American society is evident from the two basic documents of American independence: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The significance of these documents lies in their appeal to the authority of natural law and inalienable rights, rather than to some scriptural authority. These were the first official documents to rest the authority of a national state squarely on the authority of the people, and the first to grant complete freedom of worship and to reject categorically a national church establishment. In addition, there was to be neither monarch nor aristocrat. Thus the American Constitution achieved what no state in Europe was to achieve, however powerful the growth of capitalism. This achievement guaranteed the American Jew, on a national level, the utmost that unfettered capitalism can grant: political, juridical, and economic freedom.

In Europe, the Jews could only approximate such sweeping freedom; for, in Europe, capitalism could develop only out of a structure based on a very different system of production, and out of an array of institutions that were powerful, formidable, and privileged. Even violent revolutions could not root out the entrenched institutions of the Old Regime. Monarchy, aristoc-

racy, and the Church lingered on, preserving at least some vestiges of their former power and grandeur. Precapitalistic economic forms likewise persisted, as did the ideologies characteristic of those classes which drew sustenance from the forms of a precapitalistic economy.

In England, for example, the monarchy, the Established Church, and a hereditary aristocracy have been maintained. In France, the power of the Church and the monarchical principle reasserted themselves many times during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Germany, the Kaisers ruled till 1918, and the Junkers maintained their importance through the entire period of the Weimar Republic. Italy held on to the monarchy and failed to free itself from the power of the papacy, while in Austria the Church never entirely lost its formidable position. Whenever the development of capitalism called for the dissolution of anomalous classes, its spokesmen were either incapable of marshalling the social strength needed for the venture, or they recoiled at the prospect that they might unleash the very forces which would endanger them.

The Jews in Europe found, therefore, that their fate was bound up with a capitalism incapable of freeing itself completely from the medieval orientation of precapitalism. Little wonder, then, that the Jews in Europe were placed in an ambiguous relationship to the entire process. They gradually achieved emancipation, but this emancipation was never certain. They were accorded political and juridical rights, but they were unable to make unrestricted use of them. In most European countries the army, the aristocracy, and the bureaucracy succeeded fairly well in blocking the Jews.

A constant obstacle to a genuine and thoroughgoing Jewish emancipation was the persistence in Europe of medieval institutions which had never freely or happily accepted capitalism. These institutions had not only fought the new system of produc-

tion and its political demands, but even when they did accord reluctant acceptance to the new dispensation, they continued to resist Jewish emancipation. The reactionary elements in the French National Assembly insisted that Jews were a nation and not a religion. The Jewish problem was a very real and persistent one during the French Revolution, and although the Jews were granted equality, the opposition never ceased clamoring that the Jews were a nation and were not, therefore, entitled to citizenship. During the Napoleonic interlude, Napoleon himself threw his weight behind the allegation that the Jews were a separate and a harmful nation which had to be purged of its backward and anti-social mores. The discriminatory laws issued by Napoleon, first, in 1806, in the form of a moratorium on debts owed to Jews, and then in the form of restrictions on their economic activities, testify to the tenuous character of Jewish emancipation in a capitalistic society which was still hemmed in by the persistence of precapitalistic production modes and of precapitalistic institutions. Thus, even after a revolution as thoroughgoing as the French, the Jews were not completely freed from their entanglements in the old order.

The situation was basically the same in Germany. A Jewish question existed as an inseparable component of the larger question of the relationship between an emergent capitalism and precapitalist forms and institutions. From 1815 through the revolution of 1848, the debate over what the Jews were raged throughout Germany. In this spectrum, the evaluation of the Jews was either good or bad, depending on whether the writer was oriented towards the old regime or advocated a capitalist and nationalist state. Since the German revolution of 1848 was even less thorough than the French, the Jewish question in Germany continued to be as viable as the strength of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the Church could render it.



While Europe entered upon its capitalist phase encumbered by a Jewish problem that had been spawned by the medieval world and its collapse, the United States, never having known any system of production other than capitalistic or geared to capitalism, was not faced with a Jewish problem. America had no enclaves of Jews who, as in Alsace-Lorraine, engaged in petty moneylending and peddling to debt-ridden peasants and artisans. The situation in America was unlike that in France, where a chasm separated one group of Jews from another, and where the capitalist Jews of Bordeaux felt their position threatened by the Jewish moneylenders, peddlers, and beggars of Alsace-Lorraine. In the young American Republic some Jews were poorer than others, but no Jew was committed to the economy of a previous epoch. Each Jew was a free man, seeking in his own way a place for himself in the young, dynamic, and vigorous American society.

The framers of the American Constitution did not have to engage in debate with powerful opponents to prove that Jews were not a nation, but a religion. The issue did not even arise, since strictly capitalistic society does not recognize religious differences as relevant, as long as religion does not endanger the constitutional basis of the state, the Constitution. Pure capitalism is intolerant of institutional and inherited privileges, and seeks to make everyone equal before the law. Only when pure capitalism faces some anomalous vestige which still exerts power is it forced to compromise. It rarely introduces such anomalies on its own. Thus, slavery in the new republic had to be tolerated temporarily because of the very real power of the slaveowners, and because slavery was an existent reality in 1789. However, the capitalist intent is clear in that the slave trade was to come to an end.

The United States from its very birth thus had no backlog of accumulated hates peddled by the institutions and interests

of a decaying order: no desperate artisans whose guild privileges had been destroyed, no disgruntled peasantry being driven off the land, no surplus of desperate human beings vainly seeking new moorings, no proletariat being ground down in the mines and factories. It is little wonder, then, that though instances of anti-Jewish feeling were not altogether lacking, the overriding tone of society was favorable towards the Jews.

## II

The second phase of Jewish history in the United States was likewise one which proved to be very positive in its outcome for the Jews. This phase, too, was directly related to the development of capitalism in Europe and to rapid capitalist expansion here.

In Europe, capitalism made vast strides between 1815 and 1848, but its effects differed from area to area. In England, the industrial revolution was consolidated, and the industrial capitalists were given political recognition and power. In France, a similar, if not so intensive, capitalistic growth took place, but the reorientation of power involved revolutionary upheavals. Nonetheless, France emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century as a great capitalistic power in which effective political control was in the hands of capitalistic parties. The consolidation of capitalism in both England and France improved the position of the Jew, even though it could not completely eliminate the continuation of hostility on the part of persisting institutions of the old order and of those classes negatively affected by the character of capitalistic development.

In Central Europe the consequences of economic change were radically different. The growth of capitalistic commerce and industry took place in societies structured for quite different

purposes and goals. The heavy hand of decadent monarchical, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical power stood in the way of initiative and enterprise. The political disunity of Germany hampered the drive for national unity. Yet capitalism developed and in its penetration of Germany steadily broke up the economic foundations of the old order. Peasants found it more difficult to eke out a living from the soil; factories reached out for hands; artisans helplessly fought the competition of machine. The texture of the old economy was dissolved, and those whose livelihood disappeared with the old economy sought new arrangements for themselves.

Large numbers were swept up by the growing demands of the new capitalism in Germany itself: some became workers or entered occupations created by the vast process of urbanization; some became capitalists; others emigrated. Especially after the 1830's did the surplus humanity of the German states seek a home in the United States.

Among the disrupted were the Jews, who had had a significant role in the economy of stagnation and decay. Indeed, they had never been completely expelled from Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries precisely because of the function assigned to them in the processes of breakdown and decay.

Jews had been permitted to remain in various towns and villages of Germany as petty moneylenders, pawnbrokers, and peddlers. By lending money on pawn at high interest rates over long periods of time, the moneylenders and pawnbrokers helped the peasants and the artisans to stave off economic disaster. The peddlers and petty tradesmen made cheap and used commodities available to the lower classes of town and country. These services were rendered by the Jews in an atmosphere laden with hate, distrust, bitterness, and resignation. The peasants and the artisans were resigned to the necessity of the Jews, while the Jews were resigned to contempt, hatred,

and humiliation. Paradoxically, so long as stagnation and decay remained impervious to dynamic change, the Jew was secure in his role, certain of his future, and geared to expectancies that were as dependable as they were humiliating.

The moment, however, that advancing capitalism disrupted the economic foundations of stagnation and decay, the Jews became as insecure as the artisans and the peasants. They, too, became divorced from the even and familiar tenor of their lives — habitually degrading and humiliating though their lives had been — and found themselves thrust into a rapidly changing world. Many of them saw opportunities in the growing urban centers of Germany; some became capitalists; the rest came to this country with the peasants and the artisans who likewise sought these shores.

The country to which they came, Jew and non-Jew alike, was undergoing a twofold expansion. On the one hand, the factory system was making rapid progress, particularly in New England; commerce was growing; railroads were being built; the basis for the prodigious industrial growth of the post-Civil War period was being laid. On the other hand, the West was being opened up to settled farming. The vast, untilled, but fertile lands beckoned to those who had tilled the soil in their native lands. The immigrants from Germany, torn from the soil, eagerly returned to the soil.

But there was a vast difference. The precapitalist peasant of Germany was now an independent capitalist farmer, producing agricultural surpluses for an expanding country with a growing population. He was tilling the soil in an economy of vigor which rewarded toil and enterprise, and which gave him a voice in the legislative bodies of the land. He was no longer the helpless victim of stagnation, decay, and privilege. He was a free, proud, and independent farmer. The capitalism that had ruined the precapitalist society of his native land and had forced him to

seek another land proved to be in America an economic system giving him land, opportunity, and dignity.

The Jew who immigrated was likewise transformed. Those skills in moneylending, trade, and peddling which he had developed in his native town and village, and which had there been associated with hatred, bitterness, and humiliation, those skills were now the very ones which capitalism cherished, encouraged, and rewarded. They were transformed into enterprise, imagination, and innovation. Applied to the needs of the free farmers in the Middle West, they hastened the distribution of commodities, encouraged the extension of credit, aided the establishment of wholesale and retail outlets in the towns and cities, and led to the building of reputations for reliability and integrity.

The situation of the Jew in this country remained positive because his role and function continued to be positive. He contributed in America to an expanding economy. His relationship to that economy was one of close involvement in its most dynamic aspects. Anti-Semitism was thus unable to gain any secure foothold. Nevertheless, here and there disturbing symptoms manifested themselves at moments of crisis and uncertainty.

A significant example was General Ulysses S. Grant's Order Number 11 during the Civil War. This order excluded the Jews as a class from the Department of the Tennessee, which included parts of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky, because of the prevalence of smuggling and illicit trade. That such smuggling and illicit trading went on can scarcely be doubted, but that the Jews were solely, or even largely, responsible for the situation was, of course, untrue. Smuggling and illicit trade have accompanied every war since the sixteenth century. The War of the Spanish Succession, the Napoleonic wars, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War — all

furnished opportunities for extralegal economic activities. Such activities, to be sure, were hardly calculated to gain the favor of belligerents devoted to the enemy's destruction. What Grant did, however, was to identify a common practice with a particular group, and his prestige gave the discriminatory order a national audience. In effect, rather than exposing it as a regrettable concomitant of warfare, Grant attributed an evil within the system to a distinctive group, the Jews. He appeared blind to the fact that certain individuals, irrespective of religious or ethnic affiliations, never fail to grasp the opportunities for large profit furnished by warfare, however illicit these may be.

Order Number 11 was quickly rescinded. Appropriate apologies were made, and Jews continued to fare well. Grant's Order remains significant, nevertheless, because it represents the first utilization on a national scale of what was to become a basic anti-Semitic device: the attribution to the Jews of that which is negative in capitalism, so that negative features of capitalism are viewed as Jewish aberrations rather than as integral, if disturbing, aspects of an intricate and complex system of production.

### III

The third phase in the development of American Jewish history again reveals the interplay of European forces stimulating emigration with forces in the United States encouraging immigration. The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the industrial expansion of Germany and the consolidation of capitalism as the basic system of production. England and France entered the phase of imperialism which had the effect of strengthening capitalism in these areas. The position of the Jews in these three countries was relatively good, despite the outbursts of anti-Semitic feeling that accompanied the brief

periods of crisis which interrupted the steady expansion of capitalism.

The consolidation of capitalism in Germany virtually brought to a halt the emigration of Germans and Jews. The prosperity and the expectation that Germany would continue to become more wealthy and powerful encouraged Germans and Jews to integrate themselves into the new economy and the new society.

In the East, however, capitalism was only beginning to penetrate the area; it had by no means become the dominant system of production. The effects of the penetration of capitalism in an area still largely precapitalist in its economy, an area still controlled by dynasties and ecclesiastical hierarchies, are disruptive. The peasantry is dislodged; the old villages are broken up; the artisans and craftsmen are unable to compete against factory-made commodities. The disruption of the old order creates a surplus population. Some of the surplus is absorbed by the factories and by the urban expansion; others seek opportunities in those countries where capitalism has become dominant.

After 1870, at the very moment when the westward agricultural expansion had passed its apex and free land was becoming scarce, the United States entered the phase of vast industrialization. Immigration to this country, therefore, had to accommodate itself to the opportunities set by the economy, and the immigrants found that their choices were narrow and more limited. The Polish, Roumanian, and Italian peasant could not as a rule become a free farmer. He had to find employment either in the factories, or in the mines, or in an array of urban occupations in the expanding metropolises.

The Jewish immigrants after 1870 also discovered that industrial expansion firmly set the limits of choice for most of them. Jews, too, were faced with the choice of factory labor or of some occupation thrown open by metropolitan urban

growth. But, whereas in the case of the non-Jews the scales were tipped towards factory labor, in the case of the Jews they were tipped towards other occupations made available by urban development. The urban or semiurban background of the Jews made the difference.

The Jews living in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires were not peasants, although frequently they were closely bound up with the peasant economy. Even in the small villages they engaged in some sort of trade and business activity. In the larger cities of the Pale of Settlement, Jews eked out a livelihood as petty traders, peddlers, and artisans. A large number were *Luftmenshen*, people without a fixed occupation. Many of them made a living from activities related to Jewish religious life. Some were paupers; only a few were proletarians, and these were limited to emerging industrial centers. However different the occupation, most Jews were oriented towards urban activities.

When Jews from Eastern Europe came to the United States, they had visions of urban status and accordingly sought out those possibilities on arrival. The vast expansion of population in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore necessitated an elaborate growth in occupations related to distribution and consumption. Millions had to be fed and clothed. There was thus a great need for large numbers of peddlers, storekeepers, jobbers, and the like. A great many Jews immediately sought to fill this need because they were equipped by previous experience to engage in just these types of activities. The non-Jewish peasant was not so equipped.

The opportunity, however, did not exist for all the Jewish immigrants to find such employment. Most of them had to become proletarians working for contractors at home, or working for manufacturers in factories. Inasmuch as they had known something like an independent status in their native cities,



towns, and villages, they resisted permanent proletarianization, and viewed their proletarian status as temporary. They were, therefore, on the lookout for any opening that would permit them to make their way towards a middle-class status. The Polish peasant had never known any existence other than work, toil, and resignation; he had neither urban skills nor middle-class orientation, and thus he was less sensitive to his lot and less alert to the possibilities of improvement.

No amount of resistance could have prevented proletarianization unless the economy itself gave succor to this resistance by encouraging a shred of hope. The character of the industrial expansion and its consequences did precisely that, for it opened up a vast array of occupations so rapidly and so urgently that all who were quick to respond found it possible to achieve some form of middle-class status.

Modern industrialization created a market for white-collar workers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. It constantly sought more effective and more efficient distributive outlets and thus encouraged the vast and rapid growth of wholesale and retail establishments. The steady population growth continuously extended the market and encouraged the multiplication of small enterprises for which only comparatively little capital was needed. The widespread growth of literacy spurred the expansion of the publishing business and opened up a large market for newspapers and magazines, these in turn creating a need for a large class of writers, journalists, editors, and the like. The spread of free public education necessitated a large number of teachers, and the expansion of college enrollments opened up opportunities for scholarship.

With their urban outlook and their rejection of permanent proletarianization, the Jews were quick to take advantage of the new opportunities. Every effort was made to accumulate some capital, however small, with which to open a small retail

store, or to buy sufficient stock to become a jobber, or to set oneself up as a subcontractor or contractor. Once in some position of independence or semi-independence in a steadily growing economy, Jews might slowly accumulate capital, better themselves, and in a decade or so achieve respectable middle-class status. By encouraging their children to take full advantage of free education and to continue through high school and even college, Jewish parents virtually assured a professional status for their children.

The over-all situation of the Jews was positive in this period of tumultuous industrial growth; yet the size and the character of the new immigration could not but bring spasms of uncertainty and disquietude. By 1900 the Jews whose roots were in the German phase of immigration had achieved a durable position in American life. Most of them had by this time firmly established themselves as very respectable middle-class entrepreneurs: retailers, wholesalers, private bankers, and manufacturers. As a consequence, they enjoyed the prestige that attended such entrepreneurship. It is not surprising, therefore, that they felt themselves more threatened by the vast hordes of Jews from Eastern Europe than did the non-Jews.

The East European Jews represented a raw mass of pre-capitalist individuals who had earned their livelihood by petty trade, moneylending, tavern-keeping, peddling, and similar occupations linked to the plight of the peasant and the artisan. Viewed from the vantage point of modern capitalistic attitudes, such occupations appeared sordid, exploitative, and degrading. The mores, manners, and culture that thrived on these pre-capitalist foundations were likewise in sharp contradiction to the manners, mores, and culture of capitalism. If these pre-capitalist Jews came in very large numbers and settled in large, compact groups, and especially if they continued in their new environment the very same precapitalistic type of activities,

then surely the image of the respectable, enlightened, respected American Jewish entrepreneur would be endangered by that of the unkempt, jargon-chattering, shrewd, cheating, medieval "Shylock."

This antagonism between capitalist and precapitalist Jews has made its appearance at every phase in history when the two contradictory forms came into opposition with one another. The wealthy Jewish merchants and manufacturers of eighteenth-century Berlin, Vienna, and Leipzig had looked with dismay upon their fellow Jews steeped in degrading (i. e., precapitalist) occupations and stubbornly persisting in their Orthodox and non-Western ways. The Jewish capitalists of Bordeaux had sought to disassociate themselves completely from the precapitalist Jews of Alsace-Lorraine. In an effort to eradicate the blight that seemed to endanger their status, French Jewish merchants, manufacturers, and bankers waged a steady struggle against their precapitalist coreligionists. In nineteenth-century Galicia, the Haskalah movement represented similar elements seeking to modernize the Jews; i. e., to destroy their precapitalist ways. The first phase of the movement for enlightenment in Eastern Europe attempted to achieve the same objectives.

Every effort was made, therefore, by the representatives of an adjusted American Jewry to control the tide of Jewish immigration so as to transform the mode of economic activity and the way of life that accompanied it. Attempts were made to divert the immigrants to the interior, to turn them to respectable occupations such as agriculture. The torrent of human beings that kept flooding in could, however, be accommodated only by the occupations which this particular phase of economic development made available.

Anti-immigrant feeling among non-Jews was to be found in the upper classes of New England who had made their fortunes primarily in the flush of the heyday of commercial capitalism

and during the first phase of the development of manufacturing in the pre-Civil War period. After 1870, this class found itself being pushed aside by the industrial expansion which was concentrated almost exclusively in the hands of capitalist newcomers. Since immigration was vital for the rapid success of these new enterprises, the staid capitalists of a previous era viewed it as a threat to their former supremacy. They saw in immigration the disintegration of their American society.

The farmers also had certain misgivings about the consequences of the rapid rate of industrialization. By 1890 the possibility for the territorial expansion of agriculture was at an end. For the first time, the farmers were sharply confronted by the very real threat of insolvency and by the inability to compete successfully against the continuously growing power of finance and industry. For the first time, the seemingly overwhelming power of money threatened to deprive them of their farms and livelihoods. Opposition to the new finance and industrialism reached a very high pitch in the 1890's. Immigration was viewed by large numbers of farmers as symbolic of their own downfall.

And, finally, the native-born working class resented the influx of immigrants who jostled them out of jobs and who kept the wage rates hovering at the subsistence level. The East European Jewish immigrants found themselves, therefore, in a somewhat different position from that which their coreligionists of the 1840's and 1860's had encountered. On the one hand, the future of these immigrants was to be virtually as favorable; on the other, their present was much more uncertain and ambiguous. Their future was assured because they were linked with that phase of capitalist development which was to become dominant in the twentieth century, the capitalist development involving the growth of large-scale industry and the new mammoth urbanization. But at the moment of their arrival, very

large numbers continued to pursue their precapitalist ways in the ghettos of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago. They were thus living witnesses to the charge that they earned their livelihood in the cracks and crannies of the economic system. As pawnbrokers, petty shopkeepers, and peddlers, they seemed to be perpetuating in the cities of this country the degraded activities of their native lands. The Jews could thus be pictured as clever cheats, swindlers, and hawkers.

Those Jews who entered the shops and factories as workers could likewise be cast in a negative light. The first wave of Jewish immigration in the 1880's supplied the shops and factories with Jews who had never before been workers and who proved rather docile and naive in their new-found role. Beginning, however, with the 1890's, large numbers of Jewish proletarians from Lodz came over and entered the shops and factories. These Jews were experienced workers who had fought many a battle with their Jewish employers in Lodz. Many had been drawn into the Social Democratic movement even before emigration, and were filled with radical ideas. In addition, many Jewish intellectuals had already filtered into the labor movement and were taking an active part in the organizational and publicistic aspects of the working-class movement. This prominence of Jews in the trade-union movement and in the spread of radical socialist ideology encouraged the identification of Jews with radicalism, anarchism, and socialism. However popular the pioneer Jewish labor activists were to become in the 1930's, 1940's, and 1950's, they were viewed, at the turn of the century, with great animosity and fear not only by the Jewish capitalists, but by the Jews who were engaged in peddling, jobbing, contracting, pawnbroking, and shopkeeping.

Three negative features could be ascribed to the Jews of East-European origin: (1) the so-called nonproductive, exploitative, and sordid precapitalist occupations; (2) the back-

ward, unenlightened mores and culture that such occupations bred; (3) the radical, anarchistic, and socialistic ideas of the Jewish working class and of their intellectual spokesmen. A fourth negative feature, however, was supplied by the wealthy, respected, Jewish capitalists themselves: the identification of Jews with large-scale international finance, particularly as symbolized by the House of Rothschild. It was thus possible to create a picture of the Jew with four threatening qualities, a picture which could be conjured up as an adequate explanation for virtually every ill that plagued society. Every class in society could emphasize that aspect of the picture which accorded with its own predicament. The farmer saw Jewish monetary power and Jewish Socialism; the lower middle classes and the worker saw the Jewish pawnbroker, the peddler, and the shopkeeper; the old mercantile capitalists saw the usurping international Jewish banker; and the wealthy saw the Jewish anarchist. Finally, the Jewish link with Christianity could be seen in its negative aspect, and the Jew as Christ killer could be effectively amalgamated with the other four whenever discontented groups, such as farmers, were at the same time also believing fundamentalist Christians.

These five features were first used during the farm crisis of the 1880's and the 1890's. This was the first instance on a large scale of a stubborn problem: the inability of the farmer to make a profit in the face of the disproportion between farm prices and industrial commodities. This basic problem carried with it the concomitant ones of heavy indebtedness and the threat of foreclosure. Linked with the problem of prices and mortgage indebtedness was that of the availability of money. Attempting to cope with their difficulties, the farmers sought solutions that were compatible with the maintenance of their independent positions. Among the most persistent solutions were those which sought monetary inflation and the crippling of the money power.

It was here that anti-Semitism could effectively be exploited to serve diversionary ends. If the total money power could be labelled Jewish, then individual bankers were merely the helpless tools of the Jewish moneyed interests. The major problem, then, for the farmer would be to cripple the Jewish power. Thus his difficulties were assumed to stem from that which was alien to and superimposed upon the economic system rather than from the dynamism of the system itself. Alien Jewish gold was the threat!

This diversionary approach could be very effective because it appealed to seemingly irrefutable facts. The House of Rothschild was not only an influential banking house, but it was internationally notorious. It was not difficult to believe that, with their moneybags, the Rothschilds controlled the governments of Europe. Besides, wherever one turned, Jews were engaged in occupations involving money. The Jewish Shylock could be seen in any large city, and the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, for money, had led to the crucifixion.

Large numbers of farmers who during earlier decades had viewed the Jews as useful, reliable, and honest merchants now saw them negatively as the heartless representatives of the money power. This shift came about only because the plight of the farmer had for the first time become real, and he sought some explanation for his problem.

Although anti-Semitism had raised its head ominously in the 1880's and 1890's, it proved to be temporary and was liquidated fairly rapidly once a new upward swing occurred in farm prices. Even more important was the fact that the Jews were linked with the most dynamic and the most dominant aspect of capitalism: expanding industrialism. The majority of the Jews were linked to this industrialism through the new urbanization which it created and through the new middle class that it brought into being.

The steady growth of urbanization and the steady increase in the demand for distributive outlets transformed the precapitalist Jewish immigrant into the small capitalist. Hawking, peddling, jobbing, and shopkeeping frequently yielded sufficient savings for the small capital investment needed to open a store, establish a shop, or embark upon a profession. Along with the stabilizing influences of entrepreneurship came the processes of Americanization, dissolving the old customs, mores, culture, and religion that had been brought from abroad. As larger and larger numbers of Jews extricated themselves from the proletariat, the radical and socialistic ideas receded. As the content of experience became similar for larger and larger numbers, the variety of expression dwindled. By 1914 the raw Jewish immigrants were well on their way towards firm middle-class status. It has been well-said that the East-European Jewish immigrant was neither the son nor the father of a proletarian.

#### IV

World War I and its aftermath encouraged these tendencies as the American economy entered a new phase, a phase of matured, consolidated, contained industrial and financial expansion. Following quickly on the heels of the few years of post-war instability, the economy of the United States surged forth to new heights of productivity and prosperity. These new heights, however, were not achieved through the augmentation of the working class by immigration, but through the rationalization of production, the further division of labor, the intensification of skills, and the tighter integration of productive units. The new surge not only needed no labor from abroad, but found itself incapable of utilizing fully even the labor already available. Just as an earlier phase of the economy had necessitated a free



immigration policy, the new phase of the economy made it equally necessary to curb the influx of foreigners.

The closing of the doors to large-scale immigration came at a time when the economies of Eastern Europe and the Balkans were undergoing severe disruption. But, whereas prior to 1914 the breakup of the old economies and the displacement of large numbers of peasants were mitigated by the opportunities offered in the United States, now the surplus population had to remain in the very areas which could not possibly provide for them. A new problem, as yet unsolved, began to plague the societies of Eastern Europe.

These developments adversely affected the millions of Jews living in Poland and Russia. A goodly percentage of Polish Jewry was poverty-stricken and lived off charity. An even larger number barely eked out an existence through petty trading. A significant number became workers. A handful succeeded as capitalist entrepreneurs. All Polish Jews, irrespective of class, were the victims of virulent anti-Semitism and of discriminatory legislation. Jews, who in the 1890's would have come to the United States along with non-Jewish Poles, now were locked in a crippled society from which there was no exit. Their fate at the hands of the Russians and Nazis was sealed by their superfluity.

In Russia the new type of exploitative economy handled the surplus population problem with brutal directness. As the old agricultural structure was smashed, millions were forced into the factories, and those who could not be used either in the new-type agricultural collectives or in the new industrial plants were either conscripted into the army, or utilized as slave labor, or directly liquidated. The Jews proved especially vulnerable, because they entered the epoch of the revolution with a bourgeois taint, with the label of exploitative nonproductivity, and with a presumed predilection for intellectualizing. Each phase

of the centralization of the bureaucracy brought with it some recourse to these allegations. The fate of the Jews in the Soviet Union was thus resolved negatively, although total annihilation has not yet taken place.

Although the post-World War I economy barred entry to new immigrants, it continued to unfold opportunities for the Jews already living here. Swelling productivity and the prosperity that accompanied it spawned myriads of small and medium-sized businesses, while the phenomenal growth of white-collar occupations absorbed those with high school and college educations. The entertainment media, movies and radio blossomed; written communication — newspapers, magazines, books — expanded; the continuous growth of higher education increased the number of city- and state-supported colleges and created the need for competent teachers and scholars; advertising emerged as a vast enterprise. Stock market and real-estate speculation offered the possibility of quickly earned fortunes unthreatened by income taxes. Little wonder, then, that the post-war decade witnessed the crystallization of a new Jewish middle class, firmly bound up with expanding capitalism and sharply distinct from the precapitalist Jewish classes of the turn of the century. The emergence of this middle class was at the expense of the proletarian elements, whose numbers among the Jews steadily dwindled.

The Jews were thus catapulted by favorable conditions, as well as by favorable previous conditioning, into the middle class. It was, however, literally into the middle class. Only a very few individual Jews fully carved out entrepreneurships in those areas which had become crucial for the further development of capitalism: the area of large-scale industry. In oil, steel, aluminum, automobiles, mining, and machine tools, Jews appeared only sporadically as individuals. Some Jews were still influential in private banking, but virtually without excep-

tion these were the descendants of German Jews whose financial influence had continued into the new epoch. Virtually no Jewish bankers of any significance appeared during the post-World War I period. Although some Jewish banking houses remained, there was little penetration by Jews into the controlling positions of the industrial corporate structure.

The years of prosperity enabled Jews to enter the middle class, but these very years introduced some negative features. Prior to World War I the need for professional skills seemed insatiable. Jews, taking advantage of the demand, entered the medical, legal, and teaching professions. The matured economy of the 1920's slowed down the tempo of expansion in these areas and established instead a more stable demand. With the restriction of the total number of doctors and lawyers to be trained, quota systems began to appear in all the major universities, limiting to a more or less fixed percentage the number of Jews who might be accepted, particularly in the medical schools. Similar quotas were introduced from time to time even in undergraduate schools, unofficially limiting the percentage of Jews permitted to attend. The significance of these measures is that they were introduced by presumably the least intolerant segment of society, the community of learning.

More sinister was the manifestation of anti-Semitism as an aspect of the brief reaction following World War I. This anti-Semitism was the second outbreak of violent opinion in the history of the United States. The first was during the farm crisis of the 1890's, and it had carried anti-Semitic propaganda expressing primarily the farmer's discontent with the way in which the economy was operating. The second outbreak was more elaborate, because it was coping with a breakdown that was more severe and more pervasive. The anti-Semitism not only involved the total economy; it also made a crucial issue of the threat to that economy posed by the outbreaks of violent working-class

revolutions in Germany and by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Jews were linked not only with the international banking which had presumably plunged the United States into a devastating war to enrich Jewish pockets, but also with an international Bolshevism that threatened to destroy American institutions by proletarian revolution. On the one hand, the Rothschilds strangled from above, while Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky destroyed from below. It was alleged that a clever international plot, hatched by brainy Jews, rich and radical, alike, was plunging the entire world into anarchy and agony. Not only did Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* spew forth these lies, but senators and representatives in Congress, in the hearings on the immigration bills, linked the Jews to Bolshevism.

This anti-Semitic outburst was, however, of comparatively short duration. The economic system in this country was much more durable than many of its own spokesmen seemed to think; very shortly the age of prosperity blossomed and anti-Semitism slipped back once again into the cracks and crevices of the social order.

## V

The Great Depression which in 1929 engulfed America's economy had devastating consequences. It was the first depression in the history of the United States that was not quickly overcome by a new and more impressive phase of prosperity. The economic system underwent a collapse from which it did not fully recover until a decade had gone by. Despite intervention by the Federal government on a very large scale in the form of the New Deal, unemployment remained high and productivity low. Stagnation seemed to have set in.

The Jews, along with all other elements of the population, were hard hit during these years. Because of the New Deal

approach to the problem, however, Jews, being largely members of the middle class, were spared some of the cruelest blows. Since their proletarian numbers had dwindled, Jews were not faced so directly with unemployment. Franklin D. Roosevelt's inflationary policies alleviated the disaster which might have swept away the entire middle sector of society. To the extent that this middle layer was not permitted to collapse, the Jews in that layer were able to hold on precariously to some support.

One major structural change permanently affecting the stratification of society did occur during these years: the emergence of the Federal government as a significant element in the economic and social structure. The New Deal brought into being a large bureaucracy to carry out its measures. The bureaucracy was dependent on a highly trained administrative personnel and on a large white-collar class for clerical duties. The bureaucracy created by the depression became a source of livelihood for large numbers possessing the requisite skills. Among them were a considerable number of Jews.

The basic economic and social trends, as they affected the Jews, further undermined proletarianization and further cemented the fate of the Jew to that of the middle class. But though the Jew was of the middle class, he was not just another element within that class. His middle-class status did not dissolve his relations with millennia of history that made for vulnerability in distressed societies, *irrespective* of class position. During the depression the Jews came to feel this for the first time as something other than a metaphysical fantasy. They witnessed a flare-up of anti-Semitism that involved millions of sympathizers. They found themselves accused of being the architects of disintegration.

The anti-Semitic movement of the 1930's is largely linked with the name of Father Charles E. Coughlin. An analysis of his anti-Semitic message discloses the basic ingredients of which



JACOB RADER MARCUS

Director of the American Jewish Archives  
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were an international people who worked unitedly to achieve their end: the domination of mankind. Financial control, on the one hand, and revolutionary anarchy, on the other, were two goals which alone could fulfill their ambitions. Was it any wonder, then, that disaster had overcome the simple, trusting American who was helpless before a plot so sinister and a power so pervading and yet unseen?

This type of propaganda was very effective because superficially it seemed to be true. There were outstanding Jewish banking houses throughout the world; some Jews had been active Bolsheviks and radicals; Jews were spread throughout the world; Hitler's Germany had taken drastic measures against the Jews; some Jews were brilliant, and some were prominent as publicists; others were in the entertainment industry, and it was generally assumed that they controlled the motion picture industry and some influential newspapers. As the readers of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* looked around, they saw that the Jews owned the most important department stores and that the corner druggist was a Jew, as was the physician, the lawyer, the haberdasher. Wherever they looked they saw the Jew — and money. If they turned to the government they saw that the New Deal was *really* Jewish. Some of Roosevelt's *key* advisers were Jews. And did they not know that Bernard Baruch was the adviser of Presidents? Here was the link to international Jewish banking. No wonder, they reasoned, that a powerful nation like Germany, in sheer self-defense, had to break the Jewish power once and for all.

The Coughlin type of propaganda was very effective. It was hard to refute, precisely because Jews were to be found in every stratum of the economy and in virtually every country of the world. So long as their qualitative role was emphasized, the smallness of their number was unimpressive. It could be argued that one *key* Jew controlled literally tens of thousands of non-

Jewish subordinates! The depression was not viewed as the outcome of the breaking down of the total complex economy, but as the consequence of external interference with an economy which otherwise would have been immune to breakdown.

The virulent anti-Semitism of the depression years was especially ominous because it indicated that the Jews were more vulnerable than any other group in American society. In previous crises, Jews had shared with other groups like the Roman Catholics, Italians, and Negroes, the blame for the stresses and strains that wracked the country. During the Great Depression the Jews, for the first time, found themselves bearing the brunt of responsibility. In the tortuous selective process, the Jews had been found to possess a scapegoat potential that could not be equaled by any other minority: 1. historically, the Jews had always played this role; 2. they were linked with the crucifixion of Jesus; 3. they were scattered throughout much of the world, and hence seemed eternal aliens; 4. they were found in every class, and, therefore, could be linked simultaneously with capitalism, communism, and intellectualism; 5. they had no powerful nation or institution to protect them; 6. they could serve as the common enemy against whom diverse minorities and oppressed groups could unite; 7. they had been effectively used by a powerful, modern Western power, Germany, to achieve a fascist form of government. An amalgam concocted out of such potent ingredients was sure to produce a powerful effect wherever disaster threatened.

Anti-Semitism, however, was kept within bounds during this period not because its doctrines were considered false or unpalatable, but because effective measures were taken to prevent a total collapse of the economy and of society. New Deal legislation sealed the major cracks which were on the verge of releasing an uncontrollable avalanche. This was achieved by shoring up the corroded foundations of the middle class and of



the farmer, and by providing some measure of relief for the working class and the unemployed. As long as steps could be taken which held out some realistic basis for hope, anti-Semitism could spread only as far as these barriers permitted. Despair was contained by the preservation of some firmness of structure.

## VI

World War II ushered in a new epoch: an epoch of permanent tension generated by the existence of two major constellations of power unable or unwilling to annihilate each other. Each constellation has absorbed within its system a welter of states asserting national sovereignty, yet thoroughly dependent on one or the other of the two major concentrations of economic wealth and power. The years since 1946 have witnessed the steady decline of England and France, the emergence of dependent national sovereignties in the former colonial empires of Britain, France, and the Netherlands, the consolidation of Russian power in Eastern Europe, and the emergence of a powerful Communist China. Virtually every area of the world is beset by tensions revolving about the competing sovereign claims within the area (India vs. Pakistan, and the Arab States vs. Israel), or stemming from the larger pattern of conflict between the United States and Russia. Under the circumstances, there is little prospect of reaching any permanent settlement which will completely eliminate the threat of armed conflict.

The economic and social shifts in the United States are directly related to the character of the epoch. Since the power constellation represented by the Soviet Union must be offset by at least its equivalent, the government in our country emerges as the largest single factor affecting the organization, structure, and trend of total society. The government is directly involved

in the economic and military support of those nations whose strength is vital for the maintenance of its power. The production of armaments of ever-increasing technical complexity and quality is necessary for the maintenance of its own power and the power of its allies. Significant sectors of production are exclusively engaged in manufacturing weapons of a highly intricate character, and thousands are employed in research and in the making of these items.

The government not only has come to play a crucial role in the productive process, but its power, influence, and resources have penetrated every corner of national life. The universities as training schools for the specialized sciences have more and more been drawn into government projects. A large percentage of graduate scientists, engineers, economists, administrators, and the like, immediately find their way to employment in some government project. The vast bureaucracy absorbs an ever-increasing percentage of the highly specialized and the highly trained.

The emergence of the government as a permanent factor in the total productive pattern comes at a time when industrial development is undergoing a vast revolution in technique and rationalization, generated by the radical growth of electronics, making automation not only possible but necessary. Such developments have increased the demand for physicists, engineers, economists, and other highly trained specialists.

This period has likewise witnessed the rapid growth of large-scale corporate enterprise and the steady reduction in the significance of small economic units not only in manufacturing, but also in the wholesale and retail trade and in farming. The acceleration of mergers and the competitive elimination of even comparatively large productive units has narrowed down the class of free entrepreneurs and has enlarged the salaried executive and employee class. The interdependent character of the

economy has become more and more manifest, as an ever larger percentage of the total population is being absorbed by gigantic enterprises and by the government.

The position of the Jews is directly related to these new developments. Since most Jews were already in the middle and the lower middle classes at the close of World War II, they responded to the changes in the economy as befitted their class status and orientation. The basic trend was towards incorporation into the rapidly growing salaried sectors of the economy and of the government, as the demand for engineers, scientists, accountants, economists, and administrators increased in the post-war decade. The economic growth was so great and for the most part so steady that former restrictions on Jewish employment were steadily relaxed by private industry, while the continued growth of government bureaucracy opened opportunities for nondiscriminatory employment. The growth in retail trade, characterized as it was by continued enlargement of the entrepreneurial unit, increased the need for administrative and technical personnel. The expansion of the advertising media and the emergence of television alongside the earlier means of mass communication likewise opened opportunities for employment. The increased demand for medical care led to the acceleration of medical training programs and the relaxation of quotas as far as Jewish students were concerned.

Jews continued as private entrepreneurs, some in sectors linked to vast industrial enterprises, others in the manufacture of clothing, and some in the wholesale and retail trade. The steady rise of the stock market and the favorable dividend picture made large incomes possible for those who had significant sums for investment. But this type of income had no relationship to an active entrepreneurial role. The investment banking houses run by Jews, such as the Lehman Brothers, continued to be active, but no new firms made their appearance.

The general prosperity of these years offered little fertile soil to anti-Semitic agitators. To the extent that some dissatisfaction was inevitable as long as all economic and social problems were not solved, some anti-Semitism was in evidence. No real threat, however, could emerge in the context of full employment and social stability.

## VII

As of the moment, the experience of the Jews in the United States continues. Their relationship to capitalism in this country thus far has been preponderantly positive. The strength and power of the economic system in the United States have been so great that it has successfully weathered both the Great Depression and a global war. This strength and power have enabled the Jews to find security, opportunity, and hope.

Although the over-all experience has been highly positive, the negative aspects cannot be overlooked. At every moment of economic or social crisis, especially since the 1890's, anti-Semitism has manifested itself. This anti-Semitism more and more linked the Jews with the sources of disintegration and decay and attempted to identify the Jews with the twin threat of international capitalism and international communism. Should any major crisis emerge in the future, it is to be expected that anti-Semitism will once more be aroused from its momentary dormancy.

Thus far the experience of the Jews with capitalism in the United States has been similar to previous patterns. The position of the Jews in every society of the past has been as secure as the society itself. For every stress the Jews have been held essentially responsible; for every collapse they have been blamed. Thus far every major stress in American society has yielded anti-Semitism.

As we move into the future, what can we expect? The sociological structure of the Jewish population in 1958 seems to indicate that the fate of the Jew in this country is dependent upon the fate of capitalism. If this economic system is capable of continuous regeneration, and if it successfully survives the threats of war without a drastic reduction in its standard of living; or if, America having become involved in war, its economic system emerges victorious without society's reduction to a shambles during the interim; then we may expect that the position of the Jews will tend to remain favorable. But if some collapse should take place in the present structure of the economy, either as the consequence of a depression or as the result of a drastic reduction in the standard of living, necessitated by meeting the threats of war or involvement in war; and if in response to such emergencies the prevailing institutions in this country are transformed; then the outlook for the Jews will be poor. Movements will emerge which will seek to allay despair and to siphon off discontent by diverting the minds of the helpless and hopeless from the sources of their difficulties towards fellow sufferers and fellow victims. Then, once again, the accumulated accusations of the ages will be amalgamated with the ills of the hour, and the seeming truth will be so obvious that refutation will be vain. Jews will be condemned as the representatives of international, alien capitalism in league with radical, revolutionary, anti-capitalist Communism. It will be asserted that this invincible, if unnatural, alliance has destroyed all that is good and worthy.

The fate of the Jew is thus once again linked with the fate of society. The future alone will indicate what that fate will be.



## The Sale of a Negro Slave in Brooklyn in 1683

ABRAHAM G. DUKER

THE DOCUMENT published here is a bill of sale relating to the purchase of a *neegerman*, a Negro slave, by one Pieter Strijker (Stryker), of Vlackebos, now the Flatbush section of present-day Brooklyn, N. Y., from "the honorable Abraham Franckfoort, a Jew, residing in New York" (*den eersame Abraham Franckfoort een Joodt woonachtig in N. Jorck*). The transaction had taken place in the Village of Midwout, now Midwood, then a part of Flatbush, on August 15, 1683. Its terms called for the payment of half of the 1,025 guildens in 1683 and for the completion of the payment in 1684 or 1685. The receipt for the second half of the payment bears the signature, "Aberham [sic] Franckfort [sic]," and the date, "Junij (June) 27, 168[?]<sup>1</sup>5[?]<sup>2</sup>". The document is on deposit in the office of the Brooklyn County Clerk.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Abraham G. Duker is the President of The College of Jewish Studies, Chicago, Ill., and an editor of *Jewish Social Studies*.

<sup>1</sup> Flatbush was once one of the original towns of Kings County or the Borough of Brooklyn. It was legally established as Vlackebos or Midwout.

The document appears in the Flatbush Town Records, book 1004, page 122, old page 150, in the collection of the former Commissioner of Records Office, now the Historical Division of the Kings County Clerk, State of New York, located in the Hall of Records in Brooklyn. I hereby acknowledge the help of Mr. James A. Kelly, Brooklyn Borough historian and Deputy County Clerk, for his kindness in locating the document for me; of Mr. James F. Waters, his assistant, for helpful

Though Bernard Postal and Lionel Koppman, *A Jewish Tourist's Guide to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 443, report that Franckfoort and Strijker "had entered into a business arrangement," the name of Aberham (or Abraham) Franckfoort does not appear in any of the published standard works on American Jewish history<sup>2</sup> or in any of the histories of slavery or of the local histories of New York or Brooklyn.<sup>3</sup> Jews were reported to have lived in Long Island as early as 1682. According to Isaac Markens, Asser Levy's family removed "to Long Island

information; as well as of Rabbi Arthur J. S. Rosenbaum in having called to my attention the existence of documents of Jewish interest in that collection. I wish to thank also Dr. Jacob Meijer for his help in comparing the official translation by experts of the former Commissioner of Records Office with the photostat of the original.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [PAJHS]; Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry, The Jews of New York, New England and Canada, 1649-1794* (Philadelphia, 1951), I; David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* (New York, 1952); David and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel 1654-1954* (New York, 1955); Earl A. Grollman, "Dictionary of American Jewish Biography in the Seventeenth Century," *American Jewish Archives*, III (June, 1950), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., for instance, Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade in America, 1441-1700* (Washington, 1930), I; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1776* (New York, 1905), VIII; Benjamin F. Thompson, *A History of Long Island, Containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement; with Other Important and Interesting Matters, to the Present Time* (New York, 1839); B. F. Thompson, *A History of Long Island from Its Discovery to the Present Time* (2nd ed.; New York, 1843); *Collections of the New York Historical Society* (Second Series, Vol. 1 [New York, 1841]); Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1869), 3 vols.; J. Paulding, *Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam: The Time of Governor Peter Stuyvesant* (New York, 1843); Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island from Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Conditions* (New York, 1845); David T. Valentine, *A History of the City of New York* (New York, 1853); Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island* (New York, 1875); B. Fernow, ed., *Documents Relating to the History of the Early Colonial Settlements Principally on Long Island* (Old Series, Vol. XIV; New Series, Vol. III [Albany, 1883]); B. Fernow, *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 A. D.* (New York, 1857), 7 vols.; Martha Bockee Flint, *Early Long Island, A Colonial Study* (New York, 1896).



on his decease in 1682.”<sup>4</sup> A record of land ownership by Jews in Long Island goes back to 1745.<sup>5</sup> However, the historian of Brooklyn Jewry traces the beginnings of their settlement in that borough only as far back as the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

It is clear from our document that a New York Jew had concluded a business transaction involving a human chattel across the East River from Manhattan as early as 1683. At that time, although only twenty-nine years old, the Jewish community in New York was large enough to have its own “separate meeting” or steady place of worship.<sup>7</sup> It is also clear from the document that Jews had at that time the right to buy and sell slaves. To judge from Abram Vossen Goodman’s failure to mention this problem in his standard study,<sup>8</sup> the right of Jews to own slaves was not challenged in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands (or New York, as it was later called under English rule). It is not known whether Franckfoort was a slave dealer or whether he had sold the Negro from his own household. Max J. Kohler states that “until about 1750 at any rate, every New

<sup>4</sup> Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America* (New York, 1888), p. 9. Cf. Postal and Koppman, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> To cite: “It is probable that Jews settled [on Long Island] from the time of their arrival in New York; but the first definite record is that of the town of Oyster Bay, January 19, 1745 . . . at that time nineteen acres of land in the town were sold by the executors of the Samuel Meyers estate for £65.” Henry Isham Hazleton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, Long Island, New York, 1609-1924* (New York, 1925), II, 1119-20. Cf. Postal and Koppman, *op. cit.*, p. 464. The publication of these colonial documents is highly desirable.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel P. Abelow, *History of Brooklyn Jewry* (Brooklyn, 1937), p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> According to Domine Henricus Selyns in October, 1682. Cf. Albion Morris Dyer, “Points in the First Chapter of New York Jewish History,” *PAJHS*, III (1895), 47.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Abram Vossen Goodman, *American Overture: Jewish Rights in Colonial America* (Philadelphia, 1947). The problem of permitting Jews to export slaves was treated on a different level. Cf. Max J. Kohler, “The Jews and the Anti-Slavery Movement,” *PAJHS*, V (1897), 141-42.

York family of any wealth or comfort held slaves, and in keeping and even in dealing in them the Jews were neither better nor worse than the Christian inhabitants."<sup>9</sup> The second alternative is, therefore, a possible one. It is interesting to note that, in a relatively early document of this sort, the Jew is referred to as *eersame*, "honorable." It may perhaps suggest that Franckfoort was a man of wealth or stature. True, this adjective was commonly used in the legal terminology of that period. Its use with reference to a Jew may have been due to the attitude of Johannis van Eekeln, the clerk of Midwout, who was also a schoolmaster and chorister in Flatbush.<sup>10</sup>

To judge by his name, Franckfoort was an Ashkenazic Jew, additional proof that Ashkenazim came to this continent in the seventeenth century. It is not known whether he hailed from Frankfurt-am-Main or from Frankfurt-an-der-Oder.<sup>11</sup> His signature appears to indicate that he was not too skilled in the writing of Latin script, for he signed his name as *aberham*, with a small "a."<sup>12</sup> His name does not appear on published tax lists

<sup>9</sup> Max J. Kohler, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *PAJHS*, II (1894), 84. On the prevalence of slavery in seventeenth-century New York, cf. Samuel McKee, Jr., *Labor in Colonial New York, 1664-1776* (New York, 1935), p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> The contract, dated October 8, 1682, is reprinted in Thompson, *A History of Long Island from Its Discovery to the Present Time* (2nd ed.; New York, 1843), pp. 285-86; Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island*, pp. 171-73; and other works. The Stryker (Strijker, Strycker) family was prominent in the history of Flatbush. Pieter Strijker's commission as captain of foot, Flatbush, Kings County, issued on December 27, 1689, is listed in E. B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State* (Albany, N. Y., 1866), Part 2, p. 190, no. 114. There is also another mention of him on p. 238.

<sup>11</sup> The Jews were driven out of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. By 1635 some Polish Jews had been readmitted. By 1668 a Jew was identified as a resident of the city, and in 1671 a Jewish community was founded by exiles from Vienna. Cf. Josef Heller in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1930), VI, 1115.

<sup>12</sup> This may be inconclusive. Varieties in spelling abound in documents of this period.

of the period or on other early lists of inhabitants of Manhattan. It is possible that this scarcity of information may be attributed to his early death or return to Europe. It is also possible that he moved to another community or colony. Perhaps he disappeared in the Christian majority through intermarriage or conversion, with change of name. Whatever the case, the document supplies another brick in the structure of the history of early American Jewry.

# THE TEXT

Compareerde voor mij, Johannis van Eekeln, geadmittent clerk van der dorpe midwout en der maer genoemde persooene, den eersame Abraham Franckfoort een Joodt woonachtig in N. Yorck bekent alhier bij deese gecocht te hebben en pieter Strijker woonachtig in 't Vlackebos ter ander zijde bekent gecocht te hebben een neegerman voor de somme van een duijsent en vijf en twintigh gulden segge 1,025 g<sup>l</sup>. de eerste paj sal zijn de gerechte helft 168 $\frac{3}{4}$  de tweede helft oft: paj 168 $\frac{1}{2}$  welke neeger de gemelte pieter Strijker bekent ontfangen te hebben. Dit alles sonder drog ofte list gedaen in de dorpe Midwout deese 15 Augustus 1683.

[Signature]      pieter Strijcker

In kennisse van mijn Johannis van Ekelen [clk?]

Ich ondergeschrevene Abraham Franckfoort, bekenne voor de bovenstaande neeger ten volle voldaan te sijn de eerste ende laatste penninge en bevrijde hem van alle aanmaaning Adij [Anno Domini] Midwout Junij 27, 168[?]<sup>5</sup>[?].

[Signature]      aberham Franckfort

## TRANSLATION\*

Appeared before me, Johannis Van Eekelen, licensed clerk of the village [=Town of] Midwout and [before] the hereafter named persons, the honorable [=worthy] Abraham franckfoort [=Franckfoort,] a Jew[,] residing in N. Yorck[,] who acknowledges here [=hereby] that he sold, and Pieter Strijker [=Stryker,] residing in Vlackebos on the other side acknowledges that he bought a negro man for the sum of one thousand and five and twenty [=twenty-five] guildens[,] that is [=viz.] 1,025 glds. The first payment shall be the rightful half in 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; the second half or payment in 168 $\frac{1}{2}$ [,] which [=]. This] negro the said Pieter Strijker [=Stryker] acknowledges he received. All this done without deceit or trick, in the village [=Town of] Midwout, this 15[th] of August, 1683.

Peter Strijcker [Strycker]

Known to me, Johannis Van Ekelen [,Clk.]

I, the undersigned Abraham Franckfoort, acknowledge that I have been paid in full for the above named negro, the first and last penny [pennie,] and I release him from all claims. In Midwout, June 27, 168[?]<sup>5</sup>[?] A.D.

Abraham Franckfort [Abraham Franckfort]

\* Words in brackets indicate variants from the original text in the official translation.

# The Function of Genealogy in American Jewish History

MALCOLM H. STERN

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is based on tentatively complete genealogical tables compiled by Rabbi Stern for all available American Jewish families settled in America prior to 1840. This compendium of genealogy will be published by the American Jewish Archives under the title *Americans of Jewish Descent*.

FROM Genesis to Chronicles the Bible is replete with genealogies.<sup>1</sup> Those found in Genesis, chapters 4, 5, 10, and 11, contain intriguing folk-explanations of origins. Of greater historical import are the data regarding the kings of Israel and Judah scattered throughout the books of Kings and Chronicles, data which indicate the genealogies of the several dynasties of Israel and the Davidic descent of the Judean rulers. In most instances paternity and maternity are indicated, providing a complete family record.

Jeremiah's dual allusion to "a sprout of David"<sup>2</sup> gave rise to the concept of Messianic descent from David and led two of the New Testament evangelists to include the genealogies of

Dr. Malcolm H. Stern is the spiritual leader of Ohel Sholom Temple, Norfolk, Va.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Emil G. Hirsch, "Genealogy; Biblical Data," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 596 ff., which lists twenty-eight actual genealogies in the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> See Jeremiah 23:5-6; 33:15-16.

Matthew 1 and Luke 3 as evidence of Jesus' messiahship. The importance of Davidic descent emerged subsequently in the Babylonian Jewish community where, from the second to the thirteenth centuries, authority was vested in a hereditary exilarch for whom the claim of Davidic ancestry was made.<sup>3</sup>

In Jewish ecclesiastical and ritual history, through the last two millennia, the traditions of priestly (Cohen) descent and of Levitical (Levi) descent have been preserved to some extent. In the talmudic period, Aaronite descent was demanded not only of the priest but also of his would-be spouse.<sup>4</sup> Through the ages, those who preserve a family tradition of priestly descent have been required to follow special laws, while both the Cohens and the Levis received special prerogatives in synagogal ritual.<sup>5</sup>

Among the Jews of Spain, genealogy assumed a dual role. Some few Spanish Jews, especially after they became New Christians, acquired titles and patents of nobility. Although the number of those who achieved such rank is now known to be far smaller than has been generally believed, certainly those who did acquire exalted station sought to preserve their family records. At the same time, the records of the Inquisition were careful to preserve evidence of Jewish ancestry, and there are instances of New Christians who were still considered "new" three and four generations after their forebears' conversion.<sup>6</sup>

The Jewish love of scholarship and the high esteem in which leading scholars were held are attested by the fact that descendants of these intellectual "lights" preserved the record of their descent from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European leaders

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1893), II, 509.

<sup>4</sup> Hirsch, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Moses Buttenwieser, "Priest," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, X, 192 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See Isaac Da Costa, *Noble Families among the Sephardic Jews* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 104 ff.; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 74; Cecil Roth, "Were the Sephardim Hidalgos?" *Commentary*, XX (1955), pp. 125-31.

like Meir of Padua and his son, Samuel Judah Katzenellenbogen.<sup>7</sup>

None of these factors has motivated the present work, for it has been the exceptional Jewish family that has preserved in written form the records of its ancestry. A persecuted minority, like the Jews of Europe, beset with the basic problems of achieving livelihood and minimal security, had little concern with family history. The glories of the general Jewish past satisfied the interests of the majority. Nor was the constant movement of the Jews in their search for the essentials of life conducive to the preservation of lineage records. This fact is clearly evident among the hundreds and thousands of migrants from the restrictive atmosphere of Europe to the liberty-radiating air of America. In pre-nineteenth-century America, the Ashkenazic Jew was required to alter his accustomed patronymic (e. g., Abraham *ben* Isaac; i. e., Abraham, son of Isaac) to a "family" or "last" name. His Sephardic coreligionist, longer exposed to the custom of his Christian neighbors, was usually blessed with three names, and so migration usually required no alteration in Sephardic nomenclature, although assimilatory tendencies often "reduced" the mellifluous Spanish "Pardo" to the common English "Brown."<sup>8</sup> Compounding this complicating factor of names were the distance and the difficulty of communication across the Atlantic Ocean, which frequently severed family ties and made it almost impossible, in most instances, for even those who were interested to trace their ancestry into Europe.

As has been indicated, the pioneer Jews were too concerned with acquiring the necessities of life to bother with family records, and except for an occasional synagogal notation or a

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm H. Stern, *Americans of Jewish Descent*, "SAMUEL II" genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> See David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* (New York, 1952), p. 443.

family Bible, there have been few ready sources of American Jewish genealogy. The fact that the source material for American Jewish history lies in thousands of bits of data buried in congregational archives, family letters and manuscripts, court documents, isolated items in print, and inaccessible cemetery epitaphs, lends importance to the compilation of genealogy: a schematic record of individuals, their family connections, and their dates and places of birth, marriage, and death. Genealogical data offer compact source material to the historian, the biographer, the sociologist, and even the anthropologist.

The potential uses of these data are legion. Here are a few examples. The wanderings of eighteenth-century American Jews can be accurately traced and dated when one examines the birthplaces and birth dates of the numerous children of, for example, Michael Marks<sup>9</sup> or Philip Moses Russell.<sup>10</sup> Data long in print can be shown to be inaccurate; many biographies of Bernard Baruch, for example, repeat the statement that he is descended from a late seventeenth-century New York settler, Isaac Rodriguez Marques, through the latter's son, Jacob Rodriguez Marques, and supposed grandson, another Isaac, who changed the family name to Marks and served as a private in the New York Militia during the Revolutionary War. As can be readily seen from the genealogy,<sup>11</sup> Jacob Rodriguez Marques died at St. Michaels, Barbados, in 1725, while the Revolutionary private, Isaac Marks, was born in New York in either 1732 or 1741.

It is often difficult for the historian to determine whether an individual American is Jewish or not. Confronted with such names as Hart, Davis, and Soher in a locale like Lynchburg,

<sup>9</sup> See Stern, "MARKS I" genealogy.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, "RUSSELL" genealogy.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, "MARQUES — MARKS IV" genealogy.



Virginia, the recorder of Jewish history would be inclined to ignore the record of Michael Hart, of Lynchburg, and his wife Frances, née Davis, did the genealogist not unearth them in the vital records of New York's Congregation Shearith Israel. In these records Michael Hart may be found as the son of a well-known London Jew, Benjamin Hart; and Frances Davis Hart, as the offspring of a well-documented Jewish family of Petersburg, Virginia. Their son, David, married a Rosalie Soher, and the genealogist can adduce equal evidence to prove the Soher family's Jewish connections.<sup>12</sup>

Isolated items of historical information find their proper frame of reference, as in the case of an obscure reference in Myer Derkheim's circumcision record<sup>13</sup> to "Moses, the son of Uri Feis, born at Norfolk, Va., 1791." A random guess that "Uri Feis" might be the synagogal name of Philip Moses Russell, known to have been resident in Norfolk in 1791, found corroboration when a Russell family Bible came to light with a notation of the birth of Philip Moses' son, Moses, "born in Norfolk, May 30, 1791."

Pioneer Jews in communities removed from the Atlantic seaboard can be discovered through genealogical data. Thus Benjamin Myers (1755-1851), known from various sources to have been a resident of New York and Westchester County,<sup>14</sup> is found to have resided also in Nashville, Tennessee, for a stray reference in the Shearith Israel vital records indicates that his daughter Sarah was born in Nashville on December 2, 1795. Another daughter, Esther, born in New York City in 1805, married Benjamin Le Jeune, and they became early Jewish

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, "DAVIS" and "SOHER" genealogies.

<sup>13</sup> See Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond, Va., from 1769 to 1917* (Richmond, 1917), p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> See Stern, "MYERS V" genealogy; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society (PAJHS)*, XXVI, 174 f.; *ibid.*, XXVII, 330.

residents of Kentucky, as the birth of a daughter, Rosina, in West Point, Kentucky, in 1832, makes evident.<sup>15</sup>

An even more important demonstration of the usefulness of American Jewish genealogical data can be shown in the following two studies in assimilation of early American Jewry.

# I. ENDOGAMY: SEPHARDIM ABSORBED BY ASHKENAZIM

American Jewish historiography, as well as the compilation of American Jewish genealogy, awaited the achievement of a large, established, and prospering Jewish community of several generations' existence in America. While in rare instances this requirement had been met earlier, it was not until the late nineteenth century that the rise of anti-Semitism, coupled with a general American interest in history, brought forth full-scale American Jewish histories. Among these were Isaac Markens' *The Hebrews in America* (New York, 1888) and Judge Charles P. Daly's<sup>16</sup> *The Settlement of the Jews in North America* (New York, 1893). December, 1892, saw the first meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, whose valuable annual *Publications* began to appear the following year.

These early writings, written without the benefit of data which have since been unearthed, labeled the period from 1654 to 1825 the Sephardic Period in American Jewish history and assumed that the majority of Jews in that era of American life were of Spanish-Portuguese descent. The pioneer religious school text-

<sup>15</sup> Daughters of the American Revolution Ms. record of Elaine Grauman Myers; see Stern, "MYERS V" genealogy.

<sup>16</sup> Judge Charles Patrick Daly (1816-1899), New York-born Catholic, was active in a number of cultural enterprises in his native city. He became interested in Jews and Jewish history, and was a staunch defender of Jewish rights. His *The Settlement of the Jews in North America* (New York, 1893) was an expansion of an address delivered in 1872 at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the New York Hebrew Orphan Asylum (*Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, 448).

book in the field, Lee J. Levinger's *A History of the Jews in the United States* (first edition, Cincinnati, 1930; since revised), fixed this concept in the minds of a generation of modern American Jews. Later researchers on the subject have adduced the following:

While it is true that six of the pioneer American Jewish congregations<sup>17</sup> founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed the Sephardic rite, Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia, founded in 1795,<sup>18</sup> used the Ashkenazic rite. It is probable, too, that the Lancaster community, meeting for worship in the late 1740's at the home of Joseph Simon, followed the Ashkenazic rite, although close connections with Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel may have influenced it toward Sephardic ritual.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, it has been definitely proved that by the middle of the eighteenth century, the Ashkenazim in America outnumbered the Sephardim.<sup>20</sup>

As Cecil Roth, the authority on Sephardic Jewry, pointed out,<sup>21</sup> the Jews and Marranos from the Iberian Peninsula gradually, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

<sup>17</sup> The earliest congregations, their locations, names, and dates of founding are:

New York, Shearith Israel, 1656.  
Newport, R. I., Jeshuat Israel, [1658 or] 1677.  
Savannah, Ga., Mickve Israel, 1733.  
Philadelphia, Mikveh Israel, 1745.  
Charleston, S. C., Beth Elohim, 1750.  
Richmond, Va., Beth Shalom, 1789.

<sup>18</sup> Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 225 f.

<sup>19</sup> No records of this congregation survive. Cf. *PAJHS*, IX, 36 ff.; Jacob R. Marcus' *Early American Jewry* (Philadelphia, 1951-1953), II, 53 f.

<sup>20</sup> David and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954* (New York, 1955), pp. 459 f.; cf. Marcus, I, xi-xii; Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York, 1654-1860* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Roth, *Commentary*, XX, 125-31.

established themselves economically — and, consequently, socially — in such communities as Amsterdam, London, and Hamburg, and evolved for themselves a myth of superiority to the later arriving masses of Ashkenazic Jewry. The myth grew to the status of a conviction, so that by the latter half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, evidences of the social distinction appear in print. Especially in England was the difference between *Sephardi* and *Tudesco* (Spanish for Ashkenazi) enlarged upon, so that a marriage between the groups was frowned upon as a *mésalliance*.<sup>22</sup> In the *ketubot* of London's Sephardic Congregation Bevis Marks, the Ashkenazic brides married between 1795 and 1797 are largely identified only by the term *Tudesca*.<sup>23</sup> In America, the myth was enlarged to the extent that Christian authors became convinced that Sephardic Jews were physically and mentally superior to the Ashkenazim.<sup>24</sup>

In the democracy of America's pioneer generations, however, these distinctions seem to have had little force on the North American continent, where the Ashkenazim struggled side by side with the Sephardim for livelihoods, and where both groups produced economic and social leaders.

Less tolerant of the Ashkenazim were the West Indian congregations, like the one at Curaçao, which in 1728 addressed to New York's Congregation Shearith Israel a famous letter, enclosing a gift for the New York congregation's building fund,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the story of Jacob Israel Bernal, *gabay* (treasurer) of Bevis Marks Synagogue of London, who resigned his office in order to marry a *Tudesca* and was subjected to severe conditions before the elders of the congregation would permit his marriage to take place (*Bevis Marks Records*, II, vi); cf. Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community, 1492-1951* (London, 1951), pp. 170 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Bevis Marks Records*, II, vii, 113.

<sup>24</sup> E. g., Burton J. Hendrick, "Judah P. Benjamin," *Statesmen of the Lost Cause: Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet* (New York, 1939), pp. 153 ff.

with the proviso that control of the congregation remain in the hands of the Sephardic minority.<sup>25</sup>

**Identification of Sephardim and Ashkenazim.** The chief factor in determining which individuals are of Sephardic background and which of Ashkenazic is the family name. Throughout the Middle Ages, most Jews were identified by their familiar Hebrew patronymic, e. g., Mosheh ben Maimon (Moses, the son of Maimon). Under Arabic domination, some Jews acquired Moslem-type names, such as Abu al-Walid Merwan (eleventh-century Spanish physician), along with their traditional synagogal names. (Abu al-Walid Merwan, for example, bore the synagogal name Jonah ibn Janach.) This dual naming custom passed into Christian-dominated Spain where it became quite common for assimilative Jews to bear a "Christian" name as well as a "Jewish" one. Indeed, the Church often sought to prohibit the custom among Jews.<sup>26</sup> Among the Spanish aristocracy of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, it became customary to adopt as part of a family name both patronymic and matronymic, and this led to triple names, a practice soon generally followed in Christian, Marrano, and Jewish communities. This was especially true among the Marranos, many of whom acquired new names at baptism, frequently the name of their Christian sponsor.<sup>27</sup> As the Marranos fled from Spain and Portugal to northern Europe many of them returned to Judaism, and assumed synagogal names, often entirely different from their Marrano names, but still preserving the flavor of the Iberian nomenclature.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *PAJHS*, XXVII, 3 f.

<sup>26</sup> Abraham A. Neuman, *The Jews in Spain: Their Social, Political and Cultural Life During the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1942), II, 182, 257, 320 (note 3).

<sup>27</sup> Roth, *Commentary*, XX, 125-31.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Stern, "DA COSTA III" and "SEIXAS (I)" genealogies.

Further confusion for the genealogist is created by the fact that in some Sephardic communities the tradition, derived from Spain, was preserved by which a child chose to use his maternal rather than his paternal family name. This custom seems to have prevailed more in the West Indian Sephardic communities than among the British Sephardim.<sup>29</sup>

But even with all these variations in nomenclature, the Sephardic family name remains fairly identifiable, except in those cases where residents of English-speaking lands chose to Anglicize their name (e. g., Pardo to Brown).<sup>30</sup> Other peculiarities of Sephardic genealogy include the use of the particle *de* to indicate "son of." To differentiate individuals of one family bearing similar names, two generations are often indicated by *de* (e. g., Daniel de Joshua de Daniel Peixotto, showing that Daniel is the son of Joshua who is the son of Daniel). It was not uncommon for Sephardim to marry first cousins or to name sons after fathers; Ashkenazim married less frequently within their own families, and custom forbade naming a child after a living person.

Although most German Jews had some form of last name, these often varied from individual to individual within one family, and it was not until the Austrian edict of 1787 and Napoleon's decree of 1808 that the masses of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe were compelled to adopt consistent family names. Those Jews who migrated to English-speaking lands prior to these edicts usually adopted an Anglicized version of the patronymic (e. g., Abraham or Abrahams, indicating that the bearer was the son of an Abraham). Occasionally the surname was chosen from the place of European origin (e. g., names ending in

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the Rev. Moses Levy Maduro Peixotto, son of Samuel Levy Maduro and Leah Cohen Peixotto (see Stern, "Peixotto I [2]" genealogy); cf. also *Bevis Marks Records*, I and II, where patronymics seem to be used exclusively.

<sup>30</sup> See Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone*, pp. 443 f.

“-heim”) or from the family occupation (e. g., Kaufman). These same factors affected the names of those compelled by European residence to assume last names.<sup>31</sup>

On the basis of the above criteria, we have elected to consider as Sephardic those with Iberian-sounding names, especially when such names occur in the index to the *ketubot* of Bevis Marks<sup>32</sup> or in the list of members of the Brazilian Jewish community.<sup>33</sup> All other families have been assumed to be Ashkenazic.

Having established our criteria for determining which families are Sephardic and which are Ashkenazic, we can proceed to a statistical study of genealogical data, and from them measure the extent of the disappearance of the Sephardim through marriage with the Ashkenazim. For the purposes of this study, we made a list of all marriages available for the period prior to 1840 in which the full names of both spouses are given. In those instances in which no marriage date was available, we assumed that if the male was born prior to 1815 and the female before 1820, their marriage took place by 1840, unless otherwise indicated by the birth dates of their children.

We found 942 American marriages in this period, and these subdivide as follows:

Ashkenazim to Ashkenazim	536 marriages
Sephardim to Sephardim	101 marriages
Sephardim to Ashkenazim	155 marriages
Jewish-Christian marriages	150 marriages

In arriving at these figures, we have included all those with Sephardic surnames as Sephardic, even though maternal an-

<sup>31</sup> For details, see “Names,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX, 156; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 95 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Bevis Marks Records*, II.

<sup>33</sup> *PAJHS*, XLII, 393-95.

cestry may be Ashkenazic. Similar criteria were applied to Ashkenazim.

Of the 101 marriages of Sephardim to Sephardim, more than half (fifty-three) took place in the West Indies where the communities have remained predominantly Sephardic, so that there was little absorption of Sephardim by Ashkenazim in the Caribbean area. While we included in our statistics only those West Indian Jewish families whose members reached the North American continent, the dominance of the Sephardim in the West Indies is further attested by the fact that among the above-mentioned Sephardic-Ashkenazic marriages we find only twelve taking place in the islands, and six of these are within one family (Wolff).

The Sephardim whose families settled in continental North America prior to 1840 have disappeared almost completely. Most of the families have died out. The remainder have been absorbed either by marriage with Ashkenazim or by marriage with non-Jews. Of the aforementioned 101 marriages of Sephardim to Sephardim, forty-eight took place in the area of the continental United States, and of the latter, fifteen of the marriages were between individuals who had Ashkenazic as well as Sephardic ancestry.

Our statistics cover forty-five genealogies of Sephardic families settled in continental North America before 1840. Six of these married only Sephardim prior to 1840; they are: De Lucena, (Bueno) de Mesquita, Marques, and Rivera, who lived only in the early eighteenth century when the Sephardic and Ashkenazic American communities were approximately equal in size; and the Naar and Palache families, which came from the West Indies to the New York area in the 1830's and married almost exclusively with others in their own group, before 1840.

Of the remaining thirty-nine Sephardic-American families, thirty-six intermarried with Ashkenazim within one generation



after their arrival in America. The other three families married as follows: Samuel Souza, a Sephardi from Bayonne, France, married, prior to coming to America, Minkella Cerf, a Prussian-born Ashkenazi; David Nunez Carvalho, married to a Sephardi in Charleston, S. C., had one son married to a Sephardi and one to an Ashkenazi, while two children of the Sephardi-Sephardi match married Ashkenazim; and while all the children of the Reverend Moses Levy Maduro Peixotto married Sephardim, most of his grandchildren married Ashkenazim.

A further examination of our forty-five Sephardic-American families will show that only nine have living members who may still be identified as part of the Jewish community: (Fonseca) Brandon, Cardozo, Delmar, Lopez I (the family of Diego Jose Lopez, of Portugal), Naar, Nones, Peixotto, Seixas, and Solis. Many individuals among these families have intermarried with non-Jews in recent generations, so that it is difficult to ascertain positive Jewish identification. In addition to these nine families, however, only the name of Carvalho survives today, and the present Carvalho generation is completely intermarried.

Thus, we may summarize our findings by stating categorically what most historians and sociologists in this field have surmised: the pre-1840 Sephardic settlers on the North American continent have all but lost their identity as Sephardic Jews. Their absorption through marriage by the faster-growing Ashkenazic community took place almost at once, and the process was already evident prior to 1840. Through marriage with non-Jews, as will be shown in the next section, they lost not only their Sephardic but also their Jewish identity, so that few vestiges remain of this once-important group.

A schematic presentation of the above data will be found in Appendix I.

## II. EXOGAMY: JEWS ABSORBED BY INTERMARRIAGE WITH NON-JEWS

We turn now to a consideration of those factors which led to the assimilation of Jews by non-Jews through marriage in the period prior to 1840.

Throughout American Jewish history it has been impossible to ascertain an exact figure on the number of Jews in the United States at any given time. The first *American Jewish Year Book*, 1899-1900, stated:

As the census of the United States has, in accordance with the spirit of American institutions, taken no heed of the religious convictions of American citizens, whether native-born or naturalized, all statements concerning the number of Jews living in this country are based upon estimate, though several of the estimates have been most conscientiously made.

The statement continues with estimates made by various individuals and publications, of which the first three fall within our period: Mordecai M. Noah's estimate of 1818; Isaac Harby's estimate of 1826; and that of the 1840 *American Almanac*.<sup>34</sup> Let us compare these figures with those of the nearest census year for the whole population:

<i>No. of Jews</i>	<i>U. S. Census</i>	<i>No. of All Americans</i> <sup>35</sup> (round figures)
1818 — 3,000	1820	9,638,000
1826 — 6,000	1830	12,866,000
1840 — 15,000	1840	17,069,000

Thus we see that throughout this period the Jews constituted only a fraction of one per cent of the population. Most of the

<sup>34</sup> *American Jewish Year Book*: 5660 (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 283.

<sup>35</sup> *Information Please Almanac* (New York, 1954), p. 211.

pioneer Jews, like those of the larger group who were to arrive after 1848, had been limited in Europe to mercantile enterprises, and thus the early settlers and their immigrant successors remained, for the most part, in the growing urban areas of the Atlantic seaboard.

In the period under survey, Jewish congregations were ministered to by laymen. Some of these laymen achieved real status as "minister," a title new to Jewish life when it was instituted on the American scene. No ordained rabbi appeared in the United States as a resident until 1840. The conduct of worship, the interpretation of Jewish law and lore, and the traditional functions of ritual slaughtering and circumcision were carried on by lay leaders, many of them self-taught.<sup>36</sup> As a consequence, the real power in the congregation rested with the all-powerful *parnas* ("president") and to a lesser extent with the board of directors. Jewish law, except when, in the direst of cases, appeal was made to European rabbinic authorities, was interpreted, usually from memory, by these leaders. Feeling the weight of their responsibility to guide their people, they invariably gave most stringent answers to queries and verdicts in trials.<sup>37</sup>

As a consequence, mixed marriages between Jews and Gentiles were officially disapproved. In defense of this position it should be recorded that proper conversion under Jewish law required examination of the convert by a court consisting of three ordained rabbis; such a court was unavailable in America until 1846.<sup>38</sup> It followed that the Jew who married out of the faith often found it simpler to leave the Jewish community.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Grinstein, pp. 81-99, 543 (note 14).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-80; cf. also Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World*, pp. 258-301.

<sup>38</sup> Grinstein, pp. 294-96; Pool, pp. 249-51.

<sup>39</sup> Jacob R. Marcus, "Light on Early Connecticut Jewry," *American Jewish Archives*, I (No. 2), 24 ff.

Often Jews in the rural areas, desirous of retaining their Jewish identity, avoided the requirements of Jewish law by living in a common-law relationship with their non-Jewish mates.<sup>40</sup> The social and economic advantages of assimilating to the majority group also led to defections from the Jewish ranks.<sup>41</sup>

With these factors in mind, let us examine some details of the record of the American Jewish community before 1840. Of the 150 mixed marriages mentioned above, twelve give some evidence of the Christian spouse's conversion to Judaism. In every instance except one, the Jewish spouse belonged to a family strongly identified with a congregation. The exception, Catherine, wife of George Lyon, converted to Judaism just prior to the birth of her sixth child.<sup>42</sup> Further details regarding these converts will be found in Appendix II.

Although the great majority of these mixed marriages led to identification with the Christian community, in at least eight instances some effort was made to keep the family or a portion of it in the Jewish fold. Again, it seems that those living in urban communities where other Jews resided had better motivation toward this than did, for example, Michael Judah, residing in Norwalk, Connecticut, in the eighteenth century. Judah had his son, David, ritually circumcised, but failed to keep the son identified with Judaism.<sup>43</sup> At the opposite pole were several families that had their children baptized, and in a few cases the Jewish father himself was baptized. These and other special instances are recorded in Appendix III.

<sup>40</sup> E. g., the will of David Isaacs refers to his children by Nancy West (Albemarle County, Va., Will Book 12, 1837, p. 366). Isaac Levy refers to his son and daughter as "children of Elizabeth Pue" (Philadelphia Will Book 1, 1777, p. 777). Isaac Rodriguez alludes to Catherine De Spencer as "now living with me and partner in business" (Philadelphia Wills No. 135, Book 6, 1816, p. 358).

<sup>41</sup> Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 503.

<sup>42</sup> Shearith Israel Vital Records.

<sup>43</sup> Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, I, 175 f.

The opprobrium with which Jewish families met intermarriage is readily evident in the fact that even families whose genealogies are well-documented often made brusque allusion to the non-Jewish spouses of their kinfolk in the family record. In twelve instances we find only the statement: "Married a Christian," or "Gentile," or "out," or "Catholic," or, in one case, "an Irish cook." Eleven others listed such spouses either by first or last name but not by both.

While it has been impossible to ascertain the social status of the majority of the families with whom the Jews intermarried, both extremes appear on our charts. The three Franks marriages, those of Phila to General Oliver DeLancey, of Abigail to the prominent Andrew Hamilton III, of Philadelphia, and of Rebecca to Lieutenant Colonel (later Sir) Henry Johnson, are well-known to students of American Jewish history.<sup>44</sup> Among other marriages with people of title or social standing we find that Catherine Hyams married Anthony Broglio, Marquis Solari; a scion of the Canadian Harts married a niece of Jefferson Davis; Caroline Marx, of Richmond, married Richard Barton of an old Virginia plantation family; and three daughters of Samuel Wolfe married Civil War generals. At the other end of the social scale, we have at least two records of liaisons with ladies of some Negro descent.

Summarizing our findings, we note that upward of 15 per cent of the marriages recorded before 1840 were between Jews and Christians. Of these mixed marriages less than 8 per cent led to the conversion of the Christian spouse to Judaism, and only 5 per cent of those who did not convert made any apparent effort to identify themselves with the Jewish community. This leaves 87 per cent who seem to have become completely assimilated

<sup>44</sup> *The St. Charles*, I (1935), pp. 31-48, 67; Lee M. Friedman, *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 227-44; Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, I, 67 f., and II, 112 f.

into the non-Jewish community, although the bare statistic takes no cognizance of the fact that many a Christian descendant of a Jewish ancestor has found himself labelled "Jew" even generations after the family embraced Christianity.<sup>45</sup>

We have shown that Judaism, officially and socially, frowned on intermarriage and offered no encouragement to would-be converts, but that proximity to Jewish congregations and strength of family affiliation did lead to the few conversions which took place.

Moreover, the above statistics show that although intermarriage was prevalent among America's early Jewish settlers, it does not seem to have been so great as one might expect from the ratio of the Jewish to the non-Jewish population. But once an intermarriage did take place, the rate of the assimilation of the Jew into his non-Jewish environment was high.

<sup>45</sup> Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 97.

APPENDIX I: ASSIMILATION OF THE SEPHARDIM  
IN NORTH AMERICA

Family Name	Date when first known in North America	No. of settled generations before intermarriage with		Family faith if extant
		Ashkenazim	Christians	
FONSECA BRANDON....	1828	2		Jewish
RODRIGUEZ BRANDON..	1824	1	2	died out
CARDOZO.....	1752	2	3	Jewish and Christian
CARVALHO.....	1814	2	3	Christian
COHEN [REVEREND JACOB R.].....	1778	2	3	died out
DA COSTA.....	1759	3	2	died out
DAVEGA.....	1788	2	3	Jewish
DE LA MOTTA.....	1768	1		died out
DE LEON.....	1789	1		died out
DELMAR.....	1834	2		Jewish
DE LUCENA.....	1655	married only Sephardim		died out
DE LYON.....	1733	2	4	"
BUENO DE MESQUITA..	1683	married only Sephardim		"
DE PASS I.....	1815	2	1	"
(Originally of Bordeaux, France)				
DE PASS (miscellaneous).....	1784	1	3	"
DE TORRES.....	1760	2		"
GABAY FARO.....	1686	married only Sephardim		"
GOMEZ.....	1703	3	5	"
HARBY*.....	1781	1	2	Christian
HENRIQUES I.....	1829	1	1	died out
(Family of Abram Henriques Quixano, of Spain)				

\* Harby is included as Sephardic because of the immediate background of the first American generation (cf. *PAJHS*, XXXII, 45 ff.).

Family Name	Date when first known in North America	No. of settled generations before intermarriage with		Family faith if extant
		Ashkenazim	Christians	
HENRIQUES II..... (Family of Moscs Henriques, of London)	1833	2		died out
LABATT.....	1800	2	?	?
LEVY (MOSES E.).....	1819		2	died out
LOPEZ I..... (Family of Diego Jose Lopez, of Portugal)	ca. 1742	2	3	Jewish and Christian
LOUZADA.....	1729	2		died out
MARACHE.....	1746	1	1	died out
MARQUES.....	1695	married only Sephardim		"
MENDES.....	1767	married only Sephardim		early American branches died out
		"		
NAAR.....	1831	(before 1840)		Jewish
NONES.....	1777	1		?
NUNEZ.....	1733	2	2	died out
OTTOLENGUI.....	1808	1	3	"
PALACHE.....	1829	married only Sephardim (before 1840)		"
(COHEN) PEIXOTTO....	1819	2		Jewish
(MADURO) PEIXOTTO..	1807	3		Jewish and Christian
PESOA.....	1796	1		died out
PINTO.....	1725	2	2	Christian
RODRIGUEZ.....	1798	2		died out
SARZEDAS.....	1753	1		"
SASPORTAS.....	1778	1		"
SEIXAS.....	1738	1	4 (converts)	Jewish and Christian
SOLIS.....	1803	1	2	Jewish
SORIA.....	1794	2		died out
SOUZA.....	1823	pre-American		Jewish
SUARES.....	1818	2		died out
TOURO.....	1760	1		"
VALENTINE.....	1809	2		"



APPENDIX II: CONVERTS TO JUDAISM THROUGH MARRIAGE  
BEFORE 1840

(The Jewish spouse is listed first; then the convert.)

ALEXANDER, ABRAHAM, SR., married, in Charleston, S. C., his second wife, *Ann Sarah Irby*, née Huguenin, of Protestant Huguenot extraction, on December 26, 1784, at which time he was apparently compelled to surrender his position as volunteer *hazzan* of Congregation Beth Elohim. His bride evidently underwent a conversion prior to their marriage and, according to family tradition, was most observant in her Jewish practices. She survived her husband by nineteen years and in her will requested burial in the cemetery of Beth Elohim, a request which seems not to have been granted as her conversion failed to meet strict Jewish requirements. (H. A. Alexander, *Notes on the Alexander Family* . . . [Atlanta: privately printed, 1954], pp. 13-15.)

COHEN, ABRAHAM HYAM, was the son, assistant, and successor of the Reverend Jacob Raphael Cohen, a native of the Barbary States, who had served Shearith Israel of Montreal and of New York before exchanging pulpits, in 1784, with Gershom Mendes Seixas. The latter, with many members of Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel, returned to New York after the Revolution, and Cohen went to serve the Philadelphia congregation, now depleted in membership. Cohen functioned as cantor, ritual slaughterer, and circumciser until his death in 1811. Ill-health and inadequate income led to frequent altercations with the *adjunta* ("board") of the congregation, and on many occasions he relied on his son to assist or replace him. Upon the father's death, the son functioned *pro tempore* until he secured his election as official *hazzan*, but in 1815, Abraham H. Cohen resigned over what he considered a slight to his father's memory. In the light of these biographical data, it is perhaps significant that the Mikveh Israel records are absolutely silent about his marriage. Indeed, our only source of information about his spouse is the lady's memoirs, published in 1860 under the title, *Henry Luria, or the Little Jewish Convert* (New York: John F. Trow, printer), a précis of which appears in Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond*. The future Mrs. Cohen, née Picken, was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, but had been reared as an Episcopalian. In January, 1806, when she met Abraham H. Cohen, she was a

young widow. Their romance came to his father's ears, and called his son before the *adjunta*, which endeavored to extort from the young lover an oath that he would marry only a Jew. Instead, he persuaded his sweetheart to embrace Judaism, despite the traditional rejection of converts, the full ceremony was performed, as vividly described by Mrs. Cohen, in the presence of the "elders of the congregation," and the couple married on May 28, 1806. It is probable that out of deference to the aging and infirm father, the *adjunta* permitted the marriage to take place, but neither Benjamin Nones' carefully preserved congregational archives, nor the Reverend Jacob Cohen's detailed record of his births, circumcisions, and marriages, alludes to it. Subsequently, in 1821, Mrs. Cohen fell ill and became obsessed with a desire to reject her conversion, and in 1828, shortly after her husband accepted a call to serve as *hazzan* for Beth Shalom Congregation in Richmond, the death of their small son, Hebra Luria, led the mother formally to recant her conversion. This precipitated a separation in 1831, and they remained apart for the last ten years of the husband's life. (Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond, from 1769 to 1917* [Richmond, 1917], pp. 219-21; Edwin V. Cantor and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia, from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* [Philadelphia, 1935], pp. 237-38.)

COHEN, JACOB I., in the fall of 1782, married *Elizabeth (Esther) Mordecai* née Whitlock. She was evidently English, and about 1760 or 1761 converted in order to marry Moses Mordecai, a man thirty-seven years her senior, who brought her to Philadelphia. He died there twenty years later, leaving her a poor widow with three young sons. She met Jacob I. Cohen, and despite the efforts of Congregation Mikveh Israel to block their marriage on the ground that he was a *Cohen* (of priestly stock) and ineligible to marry a convert, they married, moved to Richmond, and lived "happily ever after." She, too, seems to have been denied burial in the Jewish cemetery of Richmond, for her epitaph is in the record of St. John's Episcopal Church. (Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond*, p. 219; Jacob R. Marcus, *Early American Jewry* [Philadelphia, 1938], II, 185-87; Wolf and Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia*, p. 126.)

JUDAH, URIAH HENDRICKS, as his name indicates, a scion of two of the leading families in New York's Congregation Shearith Israel, was also connected genealogically with such important clans as Seixas, Gomez, Nathan, and Myers. We can imagine the stir created when he fell in love with a Gentile, one *Gertrude Simonson*. Her desire to convert met with the traditional opposition on the part of the congregation's officialdom, so she went elsewhere (probably to one of the three Ashkenazic congregations which had been formed in New York) and underwent conversion. The couple returned to Shearith Israel, and by pointing to precedents in the congregation's records, persuaded the authorities to permit Hazzan Isaac B. Seixas to solemnize their marriage, which took place on July 27, 1836. One wonders whether Uriah's and Gertrude's difficulties affected the case of Uriah's brother, De Witt Clinton Judah. When his eyes strayed matrimonially beyond the Jewish fold, there is no record of any effort at conversion, and the family recorded this match with the curt statement: "Married an Irish cook." (David and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954* [New York, 1955], p. 251; Shearith Israel Vital Records.)

LYON, GEORGE, is known to us only through the vital records of New York's Shearith Israel. We can only guess that either his arrival in the metropolis from some outpost or his sudden desire to rear his ever-growing family in the faith of his fathers brought him to arrange for the conversion of his wife, Catherine (maiden name unrecorded), a ceremony which took place on April 8, 1821. When, three years later, on October 19, 1824, their sixth child, Joseph, was born, George Lyon recorded his birth in the congregation's archives. The father listed himself as George — Hebrew name, Judah, son of Isaac — Lyon, and added the names of his first five children (Shearith Israel Vital Records).

NATHAN, ESTHER, youngest of the five daughters of Lyon and Caroline Webb Nathan (below), married, at some point, a *Dr. Bingley*. On the grounds that her father was an official of the synagogue, and that three of her four sisters married men who were actively identified with congregations, the late Dr. Walter Max Kraus assumed that Bingley was a convert (Kraus-Sandor Collection).

NATHAN, LYON, married in New York, in 1750, *Caroline Webb*, by whom he had five daughters. By 1770, he was living in Philadelphia, and when Congregation Mikveh Israel erected its first

synagogue, he was the successful candidate of the three who applied for the position of *shammash* ("sexton"). On this slim evidence we have made the assumption that his wife was a convert, or else deceased, for it is hardly likely that the husband of a Gentile would have acquired the menial, but ritually important, post over his competitors. (Kraus-Sandor Collection; David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers, 1682-1831* [New York, 1952], pp. 288, 401, 403, 412; Wolf and Whiteman, p. 124.)

NATHANS, ISAIAH, married, as his first wife, a woman named *Barbara* (last name unknown), who, upon her conversion, was given the Hebrew name Sarah. That her conversion was accepted by his fellow Philadelphians is attested by the fact that she was buried in the Spruce Street Burying Ground of Mikveh Israel Congregation (Spruce Street Cemetery Record).

NATHANS, MOSES, elder brother of Isaiah, seems to have lived in common-law relationship with a non-Jewess, *Betty Hart*, before 1790. On January 11, 1792, they were legally married in Philadelphia. Moses petitioned Mikveh Israel for the conversion of his wife, and after some delay, this was accomplished. They were remarried according to the Jewish rite in Philadelphia, May 18, 1794, and she, like her sister-in-law, received the synagogal name of Sarah Abrahams. She was born in 1756, and died in Philadelphia, March 12, 1830, with burial in the congregation's cemetery. (Wolf and Whiteman, p. 127; Spruce Street Cemetery Record; Myer Solis-Cohen.)

NONES, DAVID BENJAMIN, son of the Revolutionary patriot, Benjamin Nones, married a woman named *Anna*. As the eldest son of a man prominent in the affairs of Mikveh Israel, David succeeded in bringing his wife into the Jewish fold and in having bestowed upon her the Hebrew equivalent of her name, Hannah, with the traditional patronymic of a convert, bat Abraham (daughter of Abraham our father). Their marriage is recorded, probably in his father's handwriting, in the Mikveh Israel vital records, as having taken place on September 6, 1818, and she found acceptance in the Jewish community, for her burial is recorded for August 28, 1832 (Mikveh Israel Records; Spruce Street Cemetery Records).

SALOMON, DEBORAH, renamed DELIA (probably at a time of severe illness to delude the Angel of Death, in keeping with a traditional

Jewish custom), was the eldest child of Haym M. Salomon, and granddaughter of the famous financier, Haym Salomon. On July 15, 1840, she married, in the city of New York, a convert to Judaism, *Dr. J. W. (or T. W.) Donovan*. This conversion is attested by the fact that the marriage is recorded in the Shearith Israel vital records. Her father, too, mentions the marriage and the name of this son-in-law without comment, whereas, when Delia's brother, Ezekiel, married, the father wrote: "Married a lady not a Hebrew. . ." (Shearith Israel Vital Records, Salomon Family Record [American Jewish Historical Society]).

SEIXAS, BENJAMIN (1811-1871), eldest son of Moses Benjamin and Judith Levy Seixas, belonged to a family both prolific and actively identified with colonial congregations for three generations before Benjamin's birth. We do not know exactly when Benjamin married *Mary Jessup*, but their eldest child was born in New York, on June 21, 1832. At the time of the marriage, Benjamin's uncle, Isaac B. Seixas, must have been functioning as *hazzan* of New York's Shearith Israel. The absence of the marriage from the congregation's vital records may show that Benjamin, to avoid embarrassment to his uncle, took his bride to one of the "German" congregations for conversion. Evidently her conversion was recognized, for her death on January 25, 1869, is recorded, and she seems to have been buried in the congregation's cemetery at Cypress Hills. (Shearith Israel Vital Records; Pool, *An Old Faith*, pp. 176 f.)

APPENDIX III: UNUSUAL INSTANCES OF  
INTERMARRIAGE BEFORE 1840

- DA COSTA, SARAH, daughter of Isaac Da Costa, first *hazzan* of Charleston's Congregation Beth Elohim, married a Revolutionary colonel, *David Maysor*, of whom nothing is known, but who seems definitely not to have been a Jew. His death in 1780, three years after the birth of their only known child, Rebecca, undoubtedly led her mother to rear Rebecca as a Jewess. Thus it was that Rebecca subsequently married the scion of a well-known Jewish family, David Hyams. (Charles Reznikoff, with the collaboration of Uriah Z. Engelman, *The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community* [Philadelphia, 1950], p. 15; DAR Lineage Book; Ancker DAR Lineage.)
- FRANKS, DAVID, the important Philadelphia merchant and land promoter, as is well-known, married *Margaret Evans*, a daughter of Philadelphia's Registrar of Wills. Their five children, born between 1744 and 1760, were all baptized at Christ Church, although David Franks maintained a semblance of Jewish identity by contributing to his father's synagogue, Shearith Israel of New York, and even attended services there. (Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 10 f.; Wolf and Whiteman, p. 33.)
- HART, BERNARD (1763-1855), well-known in the annals of New York's Shearith Israel as well as in those of the New York Stock Exchange, whose secretary he was, in 1799 contracted a marriage with a non-Jewess, *Catherine Brett*. They soon separated, and even though he contributed to her support and that of their son Henry, this liaison remained a secret for over a century. Bernard subsequently married Rebecca Seixas and had a large family, long unaware of their relationship to one of America's leading men of letters, Bret Harte, grandson of Bernard. (Helen I. Davis, "Bret Harte and His Jewish Ancestor, Bernard Hart," *PAJHS*, XXXII, 99-111; Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World*, p. 316.)
- ISAACS, RALPH, a colonial resident of Connecticut, may or may not have been a Jew. Kraus states that he was a cousin of Aaron Isaacs of Easthampton, L. I., a known Jew, but fails to support the statement with evidence. If Kraus is correct, then his deduction that Isaacs was a convert to Christianity may also be correct. (Kraus-Sandor Collection; cf. Jacob R. Marcus, "Light on Early Connecticut Jewry," *American Jewish Archives*, I [No. 2], 20-21.)

ISRAEL, ISRAEL, is a similar case of questionable Jewish origin. Morais, who consulted with Israel's descendants, points out that the family was of Jewish origin, but that Israel Israel himself was not Jewish. He is known to have been the son of Michael Israel and Mary J. Paxton, of Philadelphia. It is also known that Isaac Adolphus, prominent New York Jewish merchant, had a nephew, by the name of Michael Israel, resident in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century, and we have chosen to believe that the two Michael Israels are the same individual. If our assumption is correct, then Israel Israel, the son of a Jewish father and a Christian mother, was baptized on June 13, 1746, at the age of twenty months. (Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia: Their History from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* [Philadelphia, 1894], pp. 31-34; Elzas Mss.)

JUDAH, MARIA, was the fourth child of Benjamin S. Judah (1760-1831), one of the most active and prominent members of Congregation Shearith Israel in New York. Benjamin was a man of strong opinions, ever ready to fight for his views. History does not record his reactions when, on January 28, 1829, Maria became the bride of *Stephen C. Richard*, "in a church." (Kraus-Sandor Collection; Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone*; Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World*.)

LEVY, SAMSON (1722-1781), was the fourth child and oldest son of Moses Levy and his second wife, Grace Mears. Moses Levy was the most prosperous member of Shearith Israel in the early decades of the eighteenth century and seems to have been president of the congregation at the time of his death in 1728, shortly before the erection of the congregation's first synagogue. Samson followed his older half-brothers, Nathan and Isaac, to Philadelphia. On November 3, 1752/3, he married, in Old Swedes' Church, a widow, *Martha Lampley Thompson*. According to the well-preserved family Bible, their eldest son was circumcised by the New York *mohel*, Jacob Moses, in 1754. The gradual assimilation of the family is attested by the fact that no more circumcisions are recorded, and in 1780, the three youngest children, Henrietta, Samson, Jr., and Rachel, were baptized in Christ Church at the ages of twelve, sixteen, and nine, respectively. (Lee M. Friedman, *Pilgrims in a New Land* [Philadelphia, 1948], p. 96; Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone*, pp. 198-201.)

LOPEZ, DAVID, JR., a scion of the Charleston, S. C., branch of the old Newport clan, married, in April, 1832, a non-Jewess, *Catherine D. Hinton*, by whom he had five children. Her death in 1843 precipitated a burial problem for Congregation Beth Elohim. Lopez solved the problem by purchasing his own cemetery adjacent to that of the congregation. His second wife, Rebecca Moise, was a Jewess, which may account for the fact that the three of her stepchildren (whom she helped rear with her own brood of six) who married did so within the Jewish fold. (Lopez Genealogy, in Jacob R. Marcus Collection; Reznikoff and Engelman, p. 152.)

MARKS, MORDECAI, eight months before his marriage to *Elizabeth Yorieu*, of Stratford, Conn., was baptized in the Episcopal Church, on April 20, 1729. The baptismal record lists him as "Mordecai Marks, Jew." (S. Orcutt, *History of Stratford, Conn.*, II, pp. 1243-44; cf. Jacob R. Marcus, "Light on Early Connecticut Jewry," *American Jewish Archives*, I, No. 2, p. 26.)

MARX, CAROLINE (1800-83), demonstrates the gradual assimilation of two Virginia families: the Marx family, descended from Joseph Marx, of Richmond; and the Myers family, descended from Moses Myers, of Norfolk. A glance at the genealogies of these two clans will show that Caroline became the second wife of *Richard Barton*, plantation owner of Orange County, Virginia. Caroline's older sisters, Louisa and Judith Marx, married the brothers Samuel and Myer Myers of Norfolk, respectively. The Myers clan was apparently stronger in their Judaism than the Marxes, for on the death of Myer Myers, his widow, Judith, promptly became an Episcopalian. And the marriages of the subsequent generations between descendants of the Bartons and those of Samuel and Louisa Myers led to further defections from the Jewish fold. Samuel and Louisa's son, Moses Myers II, was buried in Norfolk's Hebrew cemetery, but his remains were removed by his son Barton to the Christian Elmwood Cemetery. (Family records.)

MOÏSE, THEODORE SIDNEY, a member of a well-known Charleston family, married, in 1836, *Cecilia F. Moses*, a Charleston Jewess. He found Charleston a barren field for his talents as a portrait artist and subsequently, following the death of his wife, moved to New Orleans, where he married a Catholic, *Matilda Vaughan*. Two of their offspring entered the Church, Robert as a priest,



and Charles as Brother Ambrose. (Elzas Mss.; Reznikoff and Engelman, p. 88.)

PETTIGREW, JAMES (1756-1793), a Scottish-born Revolutionary soldier, met and eloped with *Judith*, daughter of *Myer Hart*, one of the founders of Easton, Pa., and its leading Jewish merchant. They were married by a Christian chaplain, but with the prospective arrival of their first child, her mother persuaded Judith's uncle, the Reverend Mordecai M. Mordecai, a functionary of Philadelphia's Mikveh Israel, to perform a Jewish wedding ceremony. The young couple agreed that their sons would be reared as Christians and their daughters as Jewesses. Mordecai's action led to a *cause célèbre* when the news leaked into Philadelphia. Family records indicate that, of the Pettigrews' seven children, three daughters married, and married Jews, so the agreement was evidently kept. (*The St. Charles*, I [1935], pp. 133 f.; Wolf and Whiteman, pp. 128-29.)

SIMON, SHINAH, one of the daughters of Pennsylvania's important Jewish landowner and trader, Joseph Simon, married, on August 13, 1782, *Dr. Nicholas Schuyler*, of a prominent New York State family. She seems to have converted to Christianity, yet maintained close associations with her family, despite legends to the contrary, now proved spurious. (*PAJHS*, XXXI, 241; Rollin G. Osterweis, *Rebecca Gratz: a Study in Charm* [New York, 1935]; Joseph R. Rosenbloom, "And She Had Compassion: The Life and Times of Rebecca Gratz" [Doctoral dissertation, Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, 1957].)



# The Henry Joseph Collection of the Gratz Family Papers at the American Jewish Archives

## A Survey of the Yiddish Material

M. ARTHUR OLES

ONE OF the largest collections of papers relating to eighteenth-century American Jewry is that of the Gratz family. The bulk of this collection is found at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Library Company of Philadelphia, the American Jewish Historical Society, and the Henry Joseph Collection in the possession of the American Jewish Archives. It is from the latter source that the material described on the following pages has been selected.

Some of the material in the Henry Joseph Collection is in Yiddish, i. e., the Judeo-German idiom of the Jews of Holland, Germany, and the eastern countries of Europe. Insofar as the term "Yiddish" is applied to the modern vernacular of the East European Jews, it should be understood that the eighteenth-century language of the Jews represents a greatly different idiom. It is much closer, both in vocabulary and in structure, to the standard German of its time than is modern Yiddish to modern German. Its spelling is considerably different and, of course,

Rabbi M. Arthur Oles is the spiritual leader of Temple Beth Am, Seattle, Wash.

as is the case with other languages of the time, much less standardized than today.

While it would require an exhaustive linguistic study to determine precise dialectal variations, certain characteristics can be more easily detected. The Yiddish idiom is an offshoot of Middle High German<sup>1</sup> and is thus easily distinguished from the Low German of the North, in which even Dutch may be included for our purpose. In fact, the community of Ashkenazic Jews in Hamburg was at one time called that of the *Hoch-deutsche*, as contrasted with the Sephardic group who spoke Low German.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, while the High German character of Yiddish was evident, it was no longer identical with the contemporary eighteenth-century German. The result of these two facts is that one can detect, without undue difficulty, idiomatic expressions essentially foreign to Yiddish, whether they are of High or of Low German origin. It is possible, therefore, to deduce from the use of such expressions the close familiarity of the writer with one or the other.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, for example, the use of the relative pronoun *wo* for *was* by Aaron Levy would indicate familiarity with High German rather than Dutch.<sup>4</sup> While a single usage of this kind may not be at all conclusive, it should be kept in mind that it is a word not common in the Yiddish books or letters of the time and would thus have hardly been acquired synthetically. Other examples will be pointed out where they occur.

Of great interest are Aaron Levy's two English notes written in Hebrew letters — one of them, the draft of a contract, and

<sup>1</sup> Matthias Mieses, *Die Jiddische Sprache* (Berlin, 1924), p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Article "Hamburg," in *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1928).

<sup>3</sup> Joshua N. Neumann, "Some Eighteenth Century American Jewish Letters," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society (PAJHS)*, XXXIV (1937), 102-3.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney M. Fish, *Aaron Levy, Founder of Aaronsburg* (New York, 1951), p. 1, assumes, on the basis of weak evidence, that Levy came from Holland.

the other, a short notation (Nos. 33 and 37).<sup>5</sup> In all the American Yiddish letters, and in the Yiddish insertions in English letters, there are found many English words and expressions spelled in Hebrew characters. Levy's samples are almost unique in that they are completely in English. It may be suggested, perhaps, that these documents indicate a great linguistic adaptability on Levy's part, an adaptability which would render our previous point about his German provenance even more significant. Particularly revealing in this respect are the notations made for his own information (No. 37 and others occurring sporadically). For a man who certainly was at home in Yiddish, his use of English was quite significant. The Hebrew script may have been a device to keep those notes from prying eyes, but the English language was his own preference, strongly suggesting that he had good ability in that direction.<sup>6</sup>

A word of caution is in order here: there is a temptation to be influenced in the interpretation of dialectal peculiarities, either by the Yiddish of the twentieth century or by irregularities in spelling, such as, for example, the substitution of *d* for *t*, *b* for *p*, etc., and vice versa. In studying the phonetics of eighteenth-century American Yiddish, we usually deal with two unknowns: the writer's pronunciation of words and of specific letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Aaron Levy's repeated use of a spelling like מײַא צעלף ["my tself"] for "myself," for example, makes one wonder how Levy pronounced the word or how he pronounced the letter צ. The problem can be more fully realized when one remembers that among some Sephardim of today the צ sounds like an *s*, that most German Jews pronounce ת like an *s* rather than a *z*, and that the writer of this article has heard some German Jews pronounce the Hebrew ם like the German *z* (= *ts*)

<sup>5</sup> There are a number of very short notations of the same type, not reproduced here

<sup>6</sup> It should be understood that this has no relation to orthography.

Add to that the well-known confusion among Lithuanian Jews between *s* and *sh*, and the consistent ignoring by some of an initial *h* and the sounding of an *h* before an initial vowel, and one gets an inkling of the great variations in Hebrew and Yiddish pronunciation existing today. There is no reason to assume that there was greater uniformity in the eighteenth century.<sup>6a</sup>

Regarding the occasional tendency to use modern Yiddish as a point of reference, one must proceed with the utmost caution. Thus, to consider אלש (*als*) as an obsolete spelling of the modern אז [*az*] and, therefore, to include it in a list of "phonetic and orthographic peculiarities," as Joshua N. Neumann does,<sup>7</sup> is to ignore the fact that, though they may be etymologically related and even interchangeably used in some German dialects,<sup>8</sup> they are nevertheless two separate words.

There seems to be a particular affinity for the use of א where one would expect ק and of ב where פ would be appropriate. Examples are גראנק [*grank*, or German *krank* = "ill"] in No. 24; בארטגליר [*bartigler* = English "particular"]; רעסבעקט [*respekt* = English "respect"] in No. 31; נעגסטע [*negste*, or German *nächste* = "next"] in No. 28; בארסילז [*barsilz* = English "parcels"] in No. 36; and many more. A hard consonant, on the other hand, is sometimes substituted for a soft one: אונט [*unt*, or German *und* = "and"] in No. 9; אקארטינג [*akorting* = English "according"]; אנטערע [*antere*, or German *andere* = "others"] in No. 31; and others. The occurrence of such apparent substitutions, while neither consistent nor very frequent, is nevertheless rather typical of the time, as is attested by the variety of writers who employ them.

<sup>6a</sup> See, for example, the comment on No. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Neumann, "Letters," p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Landau, "Die Sprache der Memoiren Glückels von Hameln," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde (MGJV)*, VII (1901), 47, 51; Alfred Landau and Bernhard Wachstein, *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1679* (Vienna, 1911), 115-16.

It is worth mentioning that similar cases occur also in the letters reproduced by Alfred Landau and Bernhard Wachstein,<sup>9</sup> letters which are older by some 150 years.

Most peculiarities in spelling<sup>10</sup> are found in the Hebrew transliterations of English words and names. This fact is not surprising, since no traditional spelling was available. While English is, of course, written phonetically in Hebrew characters, that rendition is improvised and fully dependent on the writer's own ear, accent, or predilection. Meyer Josephson, for example, spells the name of Barnard Jacobs as בערנאט שעקובו,<sup>11</sup> whereas Aaron Levy spells it as בערניד שעקיפ (No. 28).<sup>12</sup> Leizer ben Leib (No. 12), who by his own admission could not write "English," writes יעקבש בארנט. Aaron Levy spells his own name as ערינ לייבה.<sup>13</sup> Examples of this type abound and are not confined to names alone.

Hebrew words and phrases are very common in Yiddish. The salutation in a letter is almost invariably in Hebrew, and is so formalized that, except where gross misspelling occurs, it has no significance whatsoever in determining the Hebrew scholarship of the writer. A typical salutation might be the following excerpt from No. 41: שלום לה' אדוני חביבי האלוף הראש והקצין אי"א כ"ש כמ"ר בערנעט יצ"ו ולאשתו הצנועה והחסידה אשת חיל כאסתר וכאביגאיל מרת רייצה שתי' וכאל"ש רדיא"ק "Peace to my beloved master and friend, the chief, head, and magnate, the God-fearing and exalted Mr. Barnard, may the Lord protect him, and to his chaste and pious wife, a woman of valor like Esther and Abi-

<sup>9</sup> Landau and Wachstein, pp. 115-33.

<sup>10</sup> No account is taken here of the general deviations from present Yiddish orthography, many of which are adequately discussed by Landau and Wachstein, *Jüdische Privatbriefe*, and by Landau, in *MGJV*.

<sup>11</sup> Neumann, p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, both render the initial *J* by ש.

<sup>13</sup> His signature, however, is invariably בר אהרן.

gail,<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Richea, may she live, and peace to all that is yours. First of all, praise to God. Secondly . . ." Although these forms are not identical, they are well standardized. An interesting feature is that frequently, though not universally, there appears the form: **ר"ד יא"ק**, "first of all, may the holy God be praised," and the letter proper begins with the word **שנית**, "secondly." The religious implication is clear. Sometimes, as in No. 3, the writer will omit the word **שנית**. Sometimes, as in No. 6, he writes **שנית**, although he had omitted **ר"ד**. Occasionally the salutation is omitted altogether. An example of this type is the series of notes to Benjamin Nathan (Nos. 17-20). The extremely unfriendly nature of the communications may have persuaded the writers to dispense with all formal courtesies. It is possible, however, that they were omitted for the sake of brevity, since these are only copies, and that the originals preserved the customary form. Another letter without any opening formalities is No. 7. Here, Meyer Josephson is obviously so shaken by the death of his employee that he simply forgets the formal niceties.

With the signature there is usually an expression such as **ממני המוכן לשרתו**, "from me, ready to serve you," or **ממני ידידך**, "from me, your friend," or something similar, usually in Hebrew, followed by the signature. The concluding line is, thus, less elaborate, though hardly less standardized, than the address. Sometimes we find a line like: "Further, I remain your well-wisher who prays day and night for your long life, Rachel, daughter of Seligman Aaron" (No. 40; the line is here in Yiddish). Meyer Josephson likes to conclude his letters, after the signature and the postscript, with the words **אדיע** or **אדיע וואהל**, "Adieu" or "Adieu, farewell."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This name provides a simple rhyme in Hebrew.

<sup>15</sup> Nos. 3 and 6, also the letters reproduced by Neumann.



The signature is often followed by a postscript, which may be almost a continuation of the letter proper (No. 31), or an apology of some sort (No. 40). If there exists any personal acquaintance at all, the postscript will contain greetings to any number of people.

Besides the salutation and the concluding lines, Hebrew appears in the Yiddish of our letters quite extensively. Very common are hybrid expressions like מקבל גיזעצון, "received"; חשובה, "answer"; מאמין זיין, "believe"; and כותב זיין, "write." Words like "hour," "day," "month," and "year" are usually rendered in Hebrew, as are "also," "therefore," and business terms like "cheap," "expensive," "profit," "business," etc. It would be idle to present here a complete list of such words and expressions.

Another type of hybridization is the use of Hebrew words as though they were Germanic, and thus to conjugate or decline them in the Yiddish manner. This type of usage, very common in modern Yiddish as well, is exemplified by words such as נבעליש, from גבלה, "cadaver" (No. 41); חרפנין, from חרפה, "shame" (No. 24); and שבת הוצאות, "Sabbath expenses," the two Hebrew words being joined here in the German or English manner (No. 9).

It would require an intensive linguistic study, thus far unattempted, to establish the system by which the inclusion of certain Hebrew words was determined. Their use appears at first sight rather arbitrary, except for religious terms which are consistently in Hebrew. The regular appearance of certain Hebrew words in virtually all the letters, however, leads one to suspect something more than haphazard selection.<sup>16</sup> Another

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Landau and Wachstein, p. xxxi, and elsewhere in the introduction.

The following works also are referred to in the notes on the letters:

Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1951-53).

Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957).

subject for further investigation would be the non-Germanic and non-Hebrew elements, including Slavic, French, and English. They cannot be adequately discussed here, although something more will be said about English later on.

It is possible at times to determine whether the writer was well versed in the Hebrew language, or whether such Hebrew words were used merely as customary elements of the Yiddish vernacular. A safe assumption is that everyone who wrote Yiddish letters was somewhat familiar with the Hebrew of the liturgy, although not necessarily fluent in it. But it is a long step from reading or even remembering the text of the Hebrew prayer book to being able to reproduce Hebrew vocabulary in its proper spelling, especially in the midst of a phonetically spelled Yiddish letter. That is why we find, for example, such words as אלקין (for על כן, "therefore"); גאי (for גוי, "Gentile") in No. 28; גבעלה, געבעלה (for גבלה, "cadaver") in No. 41; חאף (for חוב, "debt") in No. 10; and many others. As isolated instances, such spellings may be due merely to inattention. If they occur consistently, we are justified in assuming that the writer's acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue was sketchy and did not go far beyond the mechanics of Jewish ritual.

If, on the other hand, Hebrew words and phrases are used extensively and are usually correctly applied and spelled, we may take it as reliable evidence of the writer's learning in the field of Hebrew. Such evidence is present in the letters of Meyer Josephson, who makes frequent use of Hebrew in a correct and appropriate manner. Similarly, Mordecai Moses Mordecai and Leizer ben Leib evidence a thorough familiarity with good Hebrew. The letter of Rachel bas Seligman (No. 40) paraphrases a talmudic expression characterizing intoxication: אלש ער נישט ווייט פון ארור המן אב ברוך מרדכי, "as though he could not distinguish between 'cursed be Haman' and 'blessed be Mordecai' " [see Tractate *Megillah* 7b]. Also, she uses the expression להכלית

(for להכעיס, "spitefully") and, by including the l sound, makes here a substitution that is still very common.

Mention has already been made of the transliteration of English words. It is, of course, to be expected that English words and phrases will find their way into the Yiddish of American Jews. That is part of the inevitable process of linguistic assimilation. It is, furthermore, quite understandable that English predominates in those pursuits furthest removed from conditions and experiences in the old country. Thus it is that the American Jewish "merchant" finds himself with a very unsatisfactory Yiddish vocabulary of business terms, since the usual business activity of the Ashkenazic Jew of Europe was confined to petty trade. Adding to this deficiency the fact that it was in his business life that English was most necessary, we justly expect to find that the major portion of English vocabulary in the Yiddish letters consists of business terms. And, of course, we are not disappointed. Such words as "charge," "account," "bill," "certificate," "order," "exchange," "suit," "writ," etc., abound in the business correspondence. In addition, we find words like "satisfaction," "particular," "iron," "box," "board," "proof," "assembly," and many more. The varieties in the spelling of these words have already been mentioned, and examples could be multiplied almost endlessly.

The question may well be asked here why these letters were written in Yiddish and not in English. One might assume, considering the fact that most of the writers had been conducting their business in America, that they would have a sufficient command of English to make use of it in their correspondence. Yet they preferred to use Yiddish for at least a goodly part of it.

Without a more intensive study of the material than has been possible so far, a definitive answer cannot be attempted. Yet certain considerations present themselves, some subject to verification by further research, some of a purely speculative nature.

We must take into account, first of all, the possibility that for some people Yiddish may have been the preferred tongue in general, and that they availed themselves of the opportunity to use it wherever possible. One receives the distinct impression, for example, that a man like Meyer Josephson simply enjoyed Yiddish and used it when his correspondent also was familiar with it. Similarly, Mordecai Moses Mordecai, quite outspoken, seems to let his thoughts flow more naturally in this idiom. Furthermore, where a letter is addressed to someone abroad, Yiddish may be expected as the only language of communication. For a note such as that of Lovi Lyons to the Parnassim of Mikveh Israel Congregation in Philadelphia, the writer may well have felt that Yiddish was the proper "Jewish" idiom in preference to English. Again, the set of congregational rules would traditionally be in Yiddish, though it is conceivable that there existed also an English draft of the same text.

One factor that is certain to have suggested the choice of Yiddish is the confidential nature of some communications. At a time when letters were forwarded "per favor of" coachmen, captains, and travelers who sometimes might be expected to be less than scrupulous, and might while away a long evening by perusing the correspondence entrusted to them and possibly extracting profitable or juicy information, it was important to keep certain matters from their prying eyes. Perhaps Aaron Levy's draft of an agreement (No. 33) was written in Hebrew characters for such a reason, although he frequently writes English in Hebrew characters. The element of secrecy is most pronounced in the Yiddish words or paragraphs which we find as part of English correspondence, some samples of which are also included in the listing below.

An example is the following Yiddish passage in a long English business letter (No. 60): "I bought from him all wampum and other merchandise which I expect to sell here to Congress

together with the merchandise of Mr. Trent which you have there on hand and what is still in Maryland, whereby I hope we will make a good profit as no other is available in this country . . .," and later in the same letter: "So you will set all the prices at 250 or 300 percent." The convenience of Yiddish for conveying confidential information is even more pointedly demonstrated by the following (No. 70): "I hope to settle with Mr. Claiborn in a few days, as he is to be here next week. *However, I shall not wait until he comes here, I shall go to his home, and if he is not there I shall go wherever he is . . .*" The first sentence here was in English in the original text; the italicized words were originally in Yiddish.

Aside from the purpose of secrecy, there is also the convenience of Yiddish (or Hebrew) in spelling the names of old-country people who were not ordinarily known by names current in English-speaking countries. A letter such as No. 43 demonstrates this fact in that Barnard Gratz consistently renders into English the names of people living in England or America, and uses Yiddish or Hebrew for the names of those living on the European continent.

Almost all the English letters with Yiddish insertions perused so far are from Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, or vice versa. It is quite revealing of the Gratz brothers' level of Hebrew knowledge that they repeatedly use biblical or talmudic quotations appropriate to the subject discussed, as, for example, Psalm 55:23 in No. 50, Psalm 32:10 in No. 51, and *Talmud Berakot* 60b in No. 52. Their Hebrew spelling in general is almost flawless, indicating that they received a thorough grounding in the language of their youth and retained it throughout their later years.

The following analyses of the Yiddish letters (Nos. 1-42) and the subsequent list of English letters containing some Yiddish (Nos. 43-84), in the Henry Joseph Collection at the American

Jewish Archives, comprise only the papers studied so far, and represent approximately one third to one half of this type of material contained in the Collection.

*[The compiler's notes, concerning each Yiddish letter, are bracketed and printed in smaller type, following the content analysis of each letter.]*

#### ANALYSES OF YIDDISH LETTERS

##### 1. Barnard Gratz to his brother Hayim

Philadelphia, 28 Iyar, 5515 (May 9, 1755).

Barnard Gratz has been in Philadelphia for a year with a great merchant, the same for whom his relative Koppel had worked. Barnard has acquired a partner now and also intends to open his own shop. He has heard that brother Michael left for the East Indies with a "good boss," who will teach him the business.

[Barnard arrived in Philadelphia in February, 1754, and was employed by David Franks, referred to above as the "great merchant." Koppel is Jacob Henry, Barnard's cousin, who had previously worked for Franks. Michael Gratz's East Indies excursion ended after three and a half years, as he returned to London late in 1758 or early in 1759. Barnard did not become commercially independent until 1759. (See Wolf and Whiteman, pp. 36 ff.) Other names mentioned: Solomon (Solomon Henry); Lieberman — both are relatives in London; Jonathan, Barnard's brother.]

##### 2. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz

Philadelphia, June 28, 1759.

Barnard welcomes Michael to New York and gives him directions for coming to Philadelphia. If Michael needs money, he should ask Jacob Franks for it.

[Other names mentioned: Samuel Judah; David Franks.]

On the same page:

Jacob Bluch to Michael Gratz

Jacob Bluch greets Michael on the latter's arrival.

[Jacob Bluch is probably to be identified with Jacob Henry, the "Koppel" mentioned in No. 1. The names Henry and Bluch both appear in that branch of

the family, as evidenced by the power of attorney issued in connection with the estate of Joseph Henry Bluch (No. 34), who was known in America also as Joseph Henry. (See Wolf and Whiteman, p. 182 and notes.)]

3. Meyer Josephson to Michael Gratz

Reading [Pa.], 17 Tebet, 5520 (January 6, 1760).

A business letter. In a postscript Josephson asks Gratz to send him the velvet cloak which he intended for his bride and had left with Gratz.

[The first evidence of Meyer Josephson's marriage appears in 1762. (See Wolf and Whiteman, p. 392; Neumann, "Letters," in *PAJHS*, XXXIV, 77.) At the time of the writing of this letter he was apparently engaged.]

4. Mordecai Moses Mordecai to Michael Gratz

Lancaster [Pa.], May 4, 1761.

Mordecai expects to be a father in seven months. Mr. Josephson writes that he followed this example, too. Mordecai gives this graphic description of his wife's condition: "My wife sends a thousand regards and asks you to forgive her, because she cannot write herself as she is, unfortunately, not well. She vomits in the morning and eats no meat or fowl at all. Alas, she is getting very thin, but I hope she will fill out elsewhere."

5. Mordecai Moses Mordecai to Barnard and Michael Gratz

Lancaster, *Hoshanna Rabba*, 1761 (October 19, 1761).

The letter contains references to some business dealings with various people. Any suspicions about Clara are unfounded. "Mr. Simon told me that everything Ettings said is a lie, and that she would be a good match for him, and an advantage to his creditors."

[It is not clear who Clara is and for whom she is intended. Other names mentioned: Meyer Hart; Isaac Adolphus; Mr. Bush; Berche (Beracha?); Miss Abigail Lazare; Meyer Zupbeiler (?).]

6. Meyer Josephson to Michael Gratz

Reading, 6 Elul, 5522 (August 25, 1762).

A business letter. In a postscript Josephson asks Gratz to order kosher cheese for him from London.

7. Meyer Josephson to Michael Gratz

1 Tammuz, 5524 (July 1, 1764).

Josephson regrets to inform Gratz that Joseph ben Benjamin died yesterday. He asks Gratz to write to New York for a trustworthy man who is also a *shohet* [ritual slaughterer]. Josephson is willing to pay £20 per year. He would also consider Haim Myers, who had served someone else as *shohet*.

[This letter lacks the usual flowery salutation, evidently because — as the general tone of the letter indicates — Josephson was too much upset by his employee's death.]

8. Meyer Josephson to Barnard and Michael Gratz

Reading, 11 Marheshvan, 5525 (November 6, 1764).

Josephson is sending the Gratzes one quarter of a deer that he slaughtered that morning. They may share it with Mr. Bush. "If you were to consume it together, make a meal of it and drink a glass of good wine with it, and were also to parade my health on the table, I would be very pleased." He asks them not to tell others of the deer, as he fears they would be offended.

The remainder of the letter is taken up with business.

9. Meyer Josephson to Barnard and Michael Gratz

"The day after the Holiday, 5528" [October 17, 1767, or April 10, 1768, or May 24, 1768].

This is a business letter referring to dealings with Nachman and with John Patton(?).

[Josephson seems to be pressed for money, as he writes: "... because I would like to close his account, and it also would be good for Sabbath expenses." For Nachman ben Moses, see No. 22 and also Neumann, "Letters," in *PAJHS*, XXXIV, 78, 95-96. The three dates suggested above are computed on the possibility that the "Holiday" was either Sukkot, Passover, or Shabuot, 5528.]

10. Abraham ben Moses to Meyer . . .

The evening of Sabbath *Bereshith*, 5528 (October 17, 1767).

Abraham complains that a writ has been issued for his debts. He considers himself trustworthy enough to pay without the writ.



11. Henry Marks to brother Zanvil

Philadelphia, 1 Heshvan, 5529 (October 12, 1768)

Henry requests his brother to advise him of the exact date of his mother's death. He has not seen or heard from Zanvil in twenty years and asks him to write. Zanvil should also take care of his sister Leah and find her a good husband.

[The death of Henry Marks's mother is mentioned also in an English letter from Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, dated London, August 10, 1769. The date of death is given there as Sivan, 1769. A possible explanation for the discrepancy in the dates lies in the fact that Henry Marks may have made a mistake in the Hebrew year, writing only one month after the New Year. The proper date then would be 5530 — November 1, 1769. Other names mentioned: Jonathan; Solomon Henry London.]

12. Leizer ben Leib to Michael Gratz

Lancaster, 3 Ab, 5529 (August 6, 1769)

Leizer writes that he and Barnard Jacobs are carefully examining a Torah scroll with the aid of the very best European *tikkuné sof* [the plural form of *tikkun soferim*, the model which the scribe, or *sofer*, uses in copying the Torah], and have already found five words missing. God knows how many more they will find. Leizer asks Gratz to make apologies on his behalf for his failure to write to Gratz's "dearest one." She knows that he cannot write English. He also wishes Gratz a merry *Tisha b'Ab* (fast of the ninth day of Ab).

[The wish for a "merry *Tisha b'Ab*" is curious, as that day is, in the Jewish tradition, one of fasting and mourning, commemorating the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70 C. E. Among some mystics, however, *Tisha b'Ab* is celebrated as a rather joyous day, despite the fasting, because it is to be the birth of the Messiah. The writer of the letter may have been an adherent of the mystic doctrines currently prevalent in Eastern Europe.]

In a letter sent by Barnard Gratz from London on October 31, 1769, to his brother Michael, and in other letters, mention is made of a Torah scroll which Barnard had been asked to purchase in London. This would indicate that the scroll being examined by Leizer either was borrowed, ultimately to be returned to its owner, or that it was in such bad shape that it was beyond repair. It should be noted that the Distillery List (No. 36) contains an item of parchment for a scroll.

Leizer ben Leib, also Leizer ben Leib Uri (No. 15), is probably identical with Eleazar Lyons (1729-1816), a Dutch Jew who died in Philadelphia. Other names mentioned: Mr. (Mathias) Bush; Miss Beila; Mrs. Bush; Mr. Solomon; Marks; Levi Solomon; Henry Marks.]

13. Henry Marks to Jonathan [last name unknown]

Philadelphia, November 7, 1769.

Jonathan is requested to hold, as a dowry for Henry's sister Leah, the money which Jonathan's brother Solomon sent him. He is also to retain the six guineas which Barnard sent on Henry's brother Lipman's order.

Lipman is otherwise known as Levi Marks.

[Other names mentioned: Jonathan Gratz; Frumat (the writer's relative); Feivel and family.]

14. Joseph Simon to Michael Gratz

Lancaster, 30 Tishri, 5531 (October 19, 1770).

Simon has received Mrs. Mordecai's letter from Baltimore and has strictly examined the maid. He has also had her before the justice. Apparently she is completely innocent. The accusations were made probably because Mrs. Mordecai could not get along with her and even came to blows with her.

[This letter is signed Joseph Simon, but both the text and the signature are in the handwriting of Leizer ben Leib, who apparently served as Simon's secretary. Leizer adds a postscript of his own in which he sends regards to Miss Relah (Rachel Simon?), Miss Beila.]

15. Leizer ben Leib Uri to Isaac Wolf

Lancaster, 8 Ab, 5532 (August 7, 1772).

A short business letter. "One starts small, and by degrees one goes higher."

[Reference is made to Michael Hart as a "stutterer." See J. Trachtenberg, *Consider the Years*, p. 76.]

A series of letters written consecutively on two pages; each is marked "true copy." All are in Yiddish and undated, except No. 16.

16. Joseph Simon to Elietzer Lyon (in English)

November 11, 1773.

An order to seize the goods and chattels of Benjamin Nathan for unpaid rent in Heidelberg [Pa.].

17. Barnard Jacobs to Benjamin Nathan

Undated.

Mr. Simon wants to take an inventory of Nathan's merchandise, and Nathan is requested to come immediately and bring the keys of shop and trunks.

18. Joseph Simon to Benjamin Nathan

Undated.

Simon did not find the large silver spoon, teaspoons, cream jug, the large bed quilt, and many other things. He is sending Nathan a tallith [prayer shawl], tefillin [phylacteries], prayer book, shehitah [ritual animal-slaughtering] knife, and grindstone, so that Nathan can be a good Jew, but Simon is keeping the rest of the books as security for the charity money.

19.

Unsigned, undated.

The writer was without tefillin for fifteen days as the sheriff had packed everything away. He has neither pot, nor spoon, nor bed.

20. Joseph Simon to Benjamin Nathan.

Undated.

Simon has ascertained that all the bad things said about Nathan are true. Nathan refuses to give his books to Barnard (Jacobs). Simon will sell Nathan's and Nathan's wife's clothes. Nathan is to answer within a half hour or the bed will be sold.

21. Tobias . . . to Barnard and Michael Gratz

Rhode Island, 5 Kislev, 5534 (November 20, 1773).

The writer thanks the Gratzes for their letters of recommendation. He was asked to preach in the synagogue because of them. He will write from all the places which he visits.

[This is Rabbi Tobiah ben Judah, a Polish rabbi and cabalist, who visited the mainland colonies and the West Indies in 1773. See F. B. Dexter, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, I, 421-23; II, 174; III, 78; S. Broches, *Jews in New England*, II, 38-39.]

22. Nachman ben Moses to Michael Gratz

Berne [Pa.], February 26, 1779.

The children of Meyer Josephson are with Mrs. Josephson at Chestnut Hill, Pa. Perhaps Michael can persuade her to part with the children, so that he can get them out of Gentile hands and among Jews.

[This letter shows that Meyer Josephson's second wife was a Gentile woman. His first wife, whom he married no later than 1762 (see No. 3), was definitely Jewish, and her children too old by 1779 to be referred to in the above manner. So far, no trace has been found of this second marriage in other sources.]

23. Henry Marks to Barnard Gratz

New York, April 28, 1786.

Marks complains about his business difficulties and also about his children. He hopes that his son Solomon will behave better.

[Solomon Marks, 1766-1824, was, in later life, a Richmond merchant. Another name mentioned: Mrs. Wister, with whom Marks had some business dispute.]

24. Henry Marks to Barnard Gratz

May 16, 1786.

Marks hopes to do some business in Irish Town. He cannot earn anything. He has heard that his son Solomon was sick in Easton. He asks Gratz to do for him what he can.

He has heard a rumor that David Franks is in the King's Bench for debts.

[Other names mentioned: Rachel Marks and Haim Marks, Henry Marks's children; Mrs. Wister.]

25. Henry Marks to Barnard Gratz

New York, 8 Marheshvan, 5547 (October 30, 1786).

Marks was sick in Rhode Island and has been unable to do any business. He asks Gratz to find a job for his son Haim.

[Other names mentioned: Mrs. Wister; Wes Fulton (?) of Virginia.]

26. Benjamin ben Wolf of London to Michael Gratz

Lancaster [Pa.], 12 Adar, 5547 (March 2, 1787).

The writer requests a personal appointment.

27. Heiman Heilbron to Mr. Phillips

New York, November 25, 1787.

The writer requests that some papers be transmitted to Moses Homberg, who will send them on to Holland. Heilbron states that he is related to Homberg.

28. Aaron Levy to Michael Gratz.

Northumberland [Pa.], May 11, 1788.

Levy writes that Mr. Simon is here and will not return home until the end of next week. He asks Gratz to advise his family and to inform Barnard Jacobs that if Levy's brother should come to board with him, Levy will not pay one penny for him.

[This letter mentions a brother of Aaron Levy, not otherwise known, with whom Levy apparently was not on very good terms. Levy's Hebrew spelling in this letter is very poor; e. g., להואבה אדוני for לאהובי אדוני; על כן for אלקין; לאהובי אדוני. His Yiddish spelling also is unusual for the time, particularly in the use of ח for the almost universally used כ. There are certain idiomatic expressions which seem to indicate that Levy either grew up in Germany or spent enough time there to become accustomed to the German idiom. Examples are שפראכטן האב ווא איך פר גלעזיר, "The glasses that I promised"; גאנש און נאר, "completely." This, however, is not conclusive.

Other names mentioned: Mr. Hosterman; Hugh Ogden, umbrella maker in Sourkraut Alley.]

29. Suesskind ben Kosmann Hollander to the Parnassim of Philadelphia

[The] Hague, Holland, 5 Tammuz, 5549 (June 29, 1789).

Suesskind's father, Kosmann Hollander, was in the West Indies and has not been heard from for twelve years. He asks the parnassim to inform him, if they can, whether his father is alive or dead, and whether he left any money.

[The letter is addressed to "Phidelfi in the West Inies." The outside address is written in the symmetrical order common to many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters:

פידעלפי  
אין דע וועשטיניס

לק"ק

לפרנסם

לפרנסים דק"ק ה"ל פידעלפי

האג במדינת  
האלאנט

[מק"ק]

30. Mordecai Moses Mordecai to Michael Gratz

Baltimore, June 13, 1790.

Mordecai recommends a certain Meir ben Koppel (Jacob) who has been working near Baltimore for years and is a worthy man. He is on the way to New York in order to bring his wife and daughters into a Jewish environment. Mordecai asks Gratz to see to it that Meir is helped along. "I have done what was my duty."

Also, as Mordecai intends to open a store, he asks Gratz to persuade brother-in-law Myer to help him out. Not much money will be required.

[The Meir ben Koppel mentioned obviously had a Gentile wife. Mordecai's "duty" seems to have been to convert her and her daughters. He is known to have performed such acts on his own. (See Wolf and Whiteman, pp. 128 ff.) Myer is Myer Hart. (See Wolf and Whiteman, p. 417.)]

31. Cohen and Isaacs to Mr. Gratz

Richmond, November 25, 1791.

A business letter dealing with the settlement of some bills. The signature is in English.

[Cohen and Isaacs was a partnership of Jacob I. Cohen and Isaiah Isaacs. (See Marcus, *Early American Jewry*, II, 182 ff.)]

32. Yehiel ben Naphtali of Werdorf (?) to Barnard Gratz

1791.

Since a Gentile wants to buy the "nigger wench," Gratz is requested to send her with Sarah, Nichel's (?) wife, and to send along the certificate.

[Barnard Gratz is here addressed as בערניט (Barnet), rather than the usual בער (Baer) or יששכר (Issachar). Mention is made of Solomon Lyon (Lyons).]

33. A draft of an agreement, dated January, 1793, for Robert Morris and Walter Stewart to buy some lands from Aaron Levy.

It is in English, written in Levy's handwriting in cursive Hebrew characters. The style is at times somewhat elliptic: "... which they agree to take out warrants and pay for the same . . . ."

Among other peculiarities, it is interesting to note that Levy often

uses the Hebrew  $\text{אני}$  for the English  $\text{מיא צעלף}$  for "myself." The same is true about No. 37.

[For similar agreements between Levy, Morris, and Stewart, in English script, see Sidney M. Fish, *Aaron Levy*, pp. 72 ff.]

34. Jonas Hirschel Bluch to Barnard and Michael Gratz  
Langendorf [Silesia], April 6, 1796.

Bluch is sending to the Gratzes a copy of the power of attorney to sell the land of his late son Joseph Henry. He asks the Gratzes to send him the money when they have sold the land.

As Bluch does not know whether his last letter reached the Gratzes, he is sending a copy of it.

[The copy contains the statement that the Gratz brothers notified Bluch on November 1, 1795, of the death of his son. According to the official statement enclosed, the death occurred on May 10, 1793. Note the delay!]

There is appended a German copy of a power of attorney, authorizing the Gratz brothers to dispose of the lands of Joseph Henry Bluch in the vicinity of Winchester, Va. There are additional Bluch papers in the American Jewish Archives.]

35. Barnard Gratz to Isaac . . .

Undated.

Gratz recalls the favors which he had from Isaac when he was in Amsterdam. He has now been in Philadelphia for nine years and in business for two years.

He expects to go to Amsterdam, and inquires about business conditions, etc.

[Barnard Gratz arrived in Philadelphia in January, 1754 (see Wolf and Whiteman, p. 36), which would date this letter in late 1762 or early 1763. According to Wolf and Whiteman (p. 40), he opened his own business in 1759. The two years mentioned in this letter would thus be a very general approximation. It is possible, however, that Barnard here is referring to a later and more specialized phase. (See above, No. 1.)]

36. A list of materials and supplies to be bought for a "Distill House" in Philadelphia. Listed are such items as tubs, barrels, cedar boards, sail cloth, etc., and a number of different spices.

There is appended a note in English, signed by Joseph Solomon,

asking the unnamed addressee to deliver a message to Mr. [Mathias] Bush.

[The date of this document may be about the year 1765, as there is extant in the McAllister Collection at The Library Company of Philadelphia another letter of similar content dated 1765. Mr. Bush may be assumed to be Mathias Bush, the only person by that name known at that time. His sons were not then old enough to have a message addressed to them. Joseph Solomon was a shoet in Lancaster in the employ of Joseph Simon. See also the note to No. 12.]

37. An undated note by Aaron Levy in English, written in cursive Hebrew characters:

"Memorandum of stores sent by Jacob Anderson to the Big Island."

"David [A]llison Martins Lake is about a mine (a mile?) Western of said Allison, the south west corner is a small oak or sapling. Inquire of Allison for Daniel Sanderlin (?). Inquire for Michael Miniver, ask for the white oak corner."

On the reverse side, in English, is a list of items taken from David Hannah.

38. Lovi Lyons to the Parnassim of Philadelphia.

Undated.

Lyons asks to be excused from being called as *Hatan Bereshith* ["Bridegroom of Genesis," the person given the honor of beginning the annual cycle of the Pentateuchal readings in the synagogue] this year, because he may be out of town.

[The signature appears in Hebrew as Yehudah Leib'n ben Seligman, and in English as Lovi Lyons. The writer must have been a person of some prominence to be given the honor of *Hatan Bereshith*.

A. J. Lyons appears in the records of Mikveh Israel Congregation in 1783.]

39. Meir to his father Hirsch and his mother Sarah.

Undated.

A short note telling his parents that he is busy with his studies. It is the work of a child.

40. Rachel bas Seligman to Barnard Gratz.

Undated.

Rachel asks Gratz to come to her house on the morrow because "he"



is lying in a drunken stupor. He has brought the Irish woman back into the house.

["He" is referred to as a relative of the writer. Neither can be further identified.

This is an uncommon example of a Yiddish letter in cursive script written by a woman. It is very literate, both in style and in orthography.]

#### 41. Barnard Jacobs to Barnard Gratz.

Undated.

This letter was written in jail and concerns a business dispute with Joseph Simon and the "German thief Jacob," who is not further identified. Jacobs, in this three-page letter, asks Gratz to send him the receipts of Enrich (Heinrich?) and Wurm, and repeatedly bemoans his sad fate and invokes God's help.

[It is interesting to note that Jacobs never writes the initial *h* of any word, e. g., *ab* for *hab*, *elfen* for *helfen*, except *hoffen*, "hope." Also, he uses a large number of English words, such as רעציטע, "receipt"; נאר, "nor"; גיזוט, "sued"; גיזומענט, "summoned"; טופר, "suffer"; פאלט, "fault"; שעל, "jail"; and many more. His spelling of Hebrew words is very poor; e. g., ידיעה for ידועה, גנב for גנאב, etc.

Other names mentioned: Mr. Bush, Mr. Franks, Benjamin Levy.]

42. A draft of a congregational constitution. It is presumably that of Mikveh Israel Congregation in Philadelphia, and defines the manner of election and the duties of the Governing Board of Five (Junta?), the Parnass, their qualifications and duties, and the rights of members and non-members.

[The congregation resolved to draw up a constitution in 1782. This may be one of the drafts of that year.]

#### ENGLISH LETTERS WITH YIDDISH INSERTIONS

43. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, August 10, 1769
44. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, September 7, 1769
45. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, October 31, 1769
46. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, November 16, 1769
47. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, December 6, 1769
48. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, January 12, 1770
49. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, March 19, 1770

50. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, May 17, 1770
51. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, June 26, 1770
52. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, July 20, 1770
53. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, London, August 24, 1770
54. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Lancaster, January 13, 1772
55. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Carlisle, December 3, 1772
56. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, New York, April 11, 1774
57. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, January 10, 1775
58. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Pittsburgh, November 14, 1775
59. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Pittsburgh, November 15, 1775
60. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, January 21, 1776
61. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, January 28, 1776
62. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Lancaster, April 9, 1776
63. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, April 12, 1776
64. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, May 16, 1776
65. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Lancaster, May 31, 1778
66. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Philadelphia, July 27, 1778
67. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Philadelphia, January 20, 1779
68. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Williamsburg, March 3, 1780
69. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Petersburg, April 17, 1780
70. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, June 27, 1780
71. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, July 5, 1780
72. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, July 18, 1781
73. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, December 18, 1785
74. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, January 30, 1786
75. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, February 6, 1786
76. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, February 20, 1786
77. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Richmond, March 14, 1786
78. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, Lancaster, November 23, 1787
79. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Cooperstown [N. Y.], September 19, 1792
80. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, New York [month not given],  
13, 1793
81. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Philadelphia, June 28, 1794
82. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, undated
83. Joseph Simon to Michael Gratz, undated
84. Barnard Gratz to Michael Gratz, undated

# Hebrew Grammar and Textbook Writing in Early Nineteenth-Century America

WILLIAM CHOMSKY

## THE STATUS OF HEBREW STUDIES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY

DURING the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Hebraic scholarship in America seems to have been on a fairly high level. It was the exclusive province of Christians. The number of Jews in America at that time was very small, and there were few, if any, Hebrew scholars among them. Some members of the New England Mather family, we are told, were well-versed in Hebraic sources of Jewish literature, biblical as well as rabbinic and medieval, and some are even reported to have had a fine mastery of Hebrew conversation.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, "was a thorough master of the Hebrew language, which he wrote and spoke with fluency and clarity. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. William Chomsky is Chairman of the Faculty at Gratz College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. de Sola Pool, "Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England Prior to 1700," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XX (1911), 55 f. and 67 f.; also A. I. Katsh, *Hebrew in American Higher Education* (New York, 1941), 16, n. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See the article by Charles Seymour, president of Yale University, published in *Hadoar*, XXI, No. 12 (Jan. 17, 1941), 189. Incidentally, it may be interesting to note that Stiles was close to forty years old when he began to study Hebrew. He served then as minister in Newport, R. I., where a relatively dynamic Jewish community was then flourishing. One of Stiles's intimate friends was Isaac Touro, who had studied at the rabbinical seminary in Amsterdam, had come to America in 1760, and was made minister and reader of the Sephardic synagogue, Jeshuat

An entirely different picture of Hebraic scholarship in America during the early nineteenth century is depicted by Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. When he assumed his teaching post in Andover, Mass., in 1810, Stuart testifies, he knew hardly more than the Hebrew alphabet and could scarcely translate the first five or six chapters in Genesis and a few psalms with the aid of Parkhurst's dictionary. According to Stuart, there was hardly anybody in America at that time (1810) — unless one chanced to study Hebrew abroad — who possessed the requisite knowledge for instruction in Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> Even if we assume, with George Foot Moore, that this is an exaggerated statement, and that it merely depicts conditions in New England and not those in New York and Pennsylvania, it must be admitted that the status of Hebrew studies during the early part of the nineteenth century was not on a very high level. Witness the attempts, during that early period, at the preparation of Hebrew chrestomathies and grammars for the study of Hebrew.

#### TEACHING VOWEL-LESS HEBREW

Among the earliest Hebrew chrestomathies of the nineteenth century is one by John Smith, A.M., Professor of the Learned Languages, at Dartmouth College. This text was published in 1810 under the title, *A Hebrew Grammar Without Points: Designed to Facilitate the Study of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in the Original*.<sup>4</sup>

Israel, in 1763, when that synagogue was opened. Stiles may have been taught Hebrew, or have been helped in his Hebraic studies, by Touro.

<sup>3</sup> See George Foot Moore, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII (1888), 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 12; Moore refers to an earlier text by John Smith, under the same title, published in 1803.

Smith's text was rather meagre and insignificant, but a more pretentious text, entitled *An Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of the Hebrew Language, Without the Points*, by James P. Wilson, D.D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, was published two years later. In the introduction to this text, where he discusses the alphabet, the author rationalizes the novel approach of teaching Hebrew by dispensing with vowels. Hebrew, he maintains, is a dead language. The present vowels, he argues, do not record the original pronunciation of ancient Hebrew. The study of the vowels is, accordingly, both misleading and an unnecessary encumbrance for the student. Why, then, not dispense with them altogether?

In support of his approach he adduces the fact that our pronunciation of biblical names differs from that recorded in the Masoretic text. As additional evidence, he cites the fact that no vocalization is used in the scrolls read in the synagogues. He concludes, therefore, that since the vowels are "a late invention, which seems to be the fact, we might with equal propriety consider the traditions and talmudical writings of the Jews to be of divine authority, and receive for doctrines the commandments of men."

In consonance with this theory, the author first presents the alphabet arranged in a column. Beside each letter is given the name of the letter, as well as its value, in accordance with different schools and individual grammarians. This is followed by selections from the books of Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, and Job. The texts are, of course, devoid of vowel-points, and the only vowel-indications recognized by the author are the weak letters **א, ה, ו, י, ע**, which were adopted as vowel letters, in their old Hebrew forms, in the Greek alphabet, and subsequently in the alphabets of other Indo-European languages.

What about the letters neither followed by any of these vowel-indications nor placed at the end of a word? How are they to be

sounded? In such instances, the author suggests, "the beginner is advised to supply as he is reading, a short vowel of any kind, suppose *ě*, after every consonant." In this manner the language

may not only be more easily and uniformly read, and sound more agreeable to the ear, but be much more intelligible to the hearer, by distinguishing the numerous prefixes from the roots.

Wilson's text is divided into three parts. The first part consists of selections from Genesis and Isaiah, translated into English. Each Hebrew word is annotated and parsed. The second part consists of selected chapters from Job, likewise supplied with an English translation and notations furnishing the roots of the words, but without the word-for-word parsing. The third part comprises the Hebrew Grammar of John Parkhurst, to which the author refers in his parsing of the words in the first part of the text, and in which he claims to have "made as few alterations as were consistent with the plan adopted."

Since the vowels, except those indicated by vowel-letters, are indistinguishable from one another in the author's system, he has no difficulty in "simplifying" his grammar. The *pi'el* and *pu'al* conjugations are completely discarded. The form מְרַחֵם (Gen. 1:2), he regards as *hiph'il*, while נִצְּרוּ (*ibid.* 2:16), לִקְחָהּ (*ibid.* 2:23), וְתִפְקַחְנָהּ (*ibid.* 3:7), and וְאַחֲבֵא (*ibid.* 3:10), are all regarded as forms of the *kal*. His lexical etymologies are likewise confused. To mention only a few of them, אֶרֶץ, "earth," is a noun compounded of א formative and רָץ, a verb, "to break to pieces" (p. 10); שֶׁבַע, "seven," is derived from שָׂבַע, "satisfy" (p. 144); and בֵּית, "house," stems perhaps from בָּה, "a hollow vessel," and both from בָּה, "a hollow," or rather בָּב, the same (p. 145).

The whole book abounds in such grammatical and etymological fallacies. Stuart's strictures regarding the state of Hebraic studies during the first decade of the nineteenth century seem hardly exaggerated in the light of Wilson's performance. Wil-

son's book was, after all, an outstanding Hebrew text during that period, and the author boasts in the Preface that, after "having been taught originally with the points, I am self-taught in the Hebrew without the points."

Incidentally, the practice of teaching Hebrew without vowel-points was quite in vogue among Christian students of Hebrew during the eighteenth, and probably the early part of the nineteenth, century. This practice was the outgrowth of the controversy among both Jewish and Christian scholars as to the antiquity and divine authority of the vowel-signs. The controversy reached its high watermark in the sixteenth century between the Jewish scholars Elijah Levita and Azariah dei Rossi, and in the seventeenth century between the Christian scholars John Buxtorf and Louis Capellus. Capellus accepted Levita's view, denying early antiquity to the vowel-signs, while Buxtorf, relying on dei Rossi's arguments, credited the vowel-signs with antiquity and divine authority.

Even as late as 1824, Martin Ruter, D.D., published a text entitled, *An Easy Entrance into the Sacred Language; being a Concise Hebrew Grammar Without Points*. In the Preface the author asserts dogmatically:

That the points and accents form no constituent part of the language, that the language can be studied successfully without them, and with more ease to the learner, cannot rationally be denied. Some of the best Hebrew scholars became such without the aid of the points; and some who studied and used them have laid them aside, preferring the language in its original form.

The vowel-points were, according to this author, nothing more than a sort of commentary on the original text by the "Mazorites" (Masoretes). "But as they were added by Jewish teachers, without divine authority, they can have no more weight than any other comment."

Little wonder, therefore, that when these grammarians at-

tempted to transliterate the Hebrew texts of the Bible, their readings were so farfetched and wide of the mark as to be hardly recognizable. Moses Stuart was undoubtedly right in his denunciation of this practice. In the Introduction to his *Hebrew Grammar*, published in 1821, he declared that

there never was, and it may be doubted whether there ever will be, a *thorough* Hebrew scholar who is ignorant of the vowel-system. The Hebrew language, destitute of vowels, is "without form," and is but little removed from being "void" and having chaotic "darkness upon it." Seven years' experience of the writer, in teaching Hebrew without the vowel-points, has brought him fully to this conclusion.

#### THE FIRST HEBREW TEXT BY AN AMERICAN JEW

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jews in the United States constituted a small, insignificant minority. In the year 1790, out of a total population of less than four million in the United States, the Jewish group numbered about 2,500, and, according to some authorities, the number was not much more than some 1,500. Most of the Jews lived in Philadelphia and New York, while a good many were completely cut off from any Jewish contacts.

Among the new arrivals at the beginning of the century was Emanuel Nunes Carvalho, who was born and educated in England and came to New York in 1806. There he taught Hebrew and other languages privately, and was later (1808-11) engaged as teacher in the *Polonies Talmud Torah*, an institution which subsequently became part of the public school system. In 1811, he went to Charleston, S. C., where, in addition to his official duties as minister of Congregation Beth Elohim, he taught Hebrew and Spanish in the school of ancient and modern languages which he himself established. In 1814 he assumed the ministry of Mikveh Israel Congregation in Philadelphia, where



he published a Hebrew text (1815), entitled *מפתח לשון עברית*, *A Key to the Hebrew Tongue Containing the א"ב Alphabet with the Various Vowel Points: accompanied by easy lessons of one and more syllables, with the English translation affixed thereto, so that the learner may understand as he proceeds, To which is added An Introduction to the Hebrew Grammar with points; Intended to facilitate the scholar in his progress to the attainment of the primitive languages.*

The book was designed by Carvalho, as "professor of Hebrew and Chaldee languages, . . . for the use of his pupils." He was also engaged, according to Dr. Bertram W. Korn,<sup>5</sup> in completing a Hebrew-English dictionary when he died in 1817.

Carvalho's Hebrew text is a primitive attempt at the teaching of Hebrew grammar. Judged by modern standards, this work is pathetically inadequate and leaves much to be desired, both in regard to content and to method. It is difficult to conceive how any of the pupils could acquire from such a text either an understanding of grammar or a mastery of Hebrew.

The book is divided into two parts, one containing language lessons and the other the grammar. The language lessons consist of isolated words and their translation. In the first ten lessons, the words are arranged in an alphabetical order, while in the eleventh lesson, the alphabetical order is reversed (תשר"ק). The first of these lessons comprises only monosyllables, including also an original coinage, אַיִם, "fear," on the basis of the biblical אֵימָה, as well as such unusual and obscure words as נֶן, which the author translates, after Menahem ben Saruk, as "food."

In the eighth lesson, nouns in the singular, with pronominal suffixes in the first person singular, are given, while the ninth contains nouns in the plural, with pronominal suffixes in the first person plural. The numerals are given in the twelfth lesson.

<sup>5</sup> See the Introduction to Carvalho's *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West*, edited by Bertram W. Korn (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), p. 19.

Beginning with lesson 15, the vocabularies are generally unvocalized, and in lessons 28 to 40, biblical phrases, mostly unvocalized, are presented with translations.

The author evidently manifests some sense of method, but he gives little attention, in selecting his vocabulary, to the value of the words in terms of biblical frequency or even of biblical occurrence. Included in this vocabulary are a good many talmudic and medieval words, as well as original coinages, for some of which no basis can be found. Thus in lessons 19 and 24, we find such new coinages as תרצן, "responder," from the talmudic verb תרץ, "answered" or "settled a difficulty"; סעדות, "pins," from סעד, "support"; קשרים, "buttons," from קשר, "bind"; and וקרה, "jelly," from קרה, "ice"; but also יבאי, "ribband," or "ribbon," the origin of which cannot be found by this writer.

The author is frequently careless in his vocalizations and translations. He makes no provision for recurrence of vocabulary. No word occurs more than once, and the biblical phrases included in the last twelve lessons are not based at all on the preceding vocabularies. Under such circumstances, any learning of the language, except by rote memorization of each individual word and phrase, is inconceivable.

The second part of this book, comprising the grammar, is more satisfactory in terms of method. In it, the author attempts to present concisely and systematically the rudiments of Hebrew grammar. He was apparently familiar with David Kimhi's *Mikhlol*, whose influence is detectable in both the content and the method of this part of the book. He evinces, however, some originality in the succinct arrangement of the material.

Carvalho was apparently a scholar after a fashion. He must have been fairly conversant with the Bible and later Hebraic sources. But his scholarship was undisciplined and desultory. His book may have made no contribution to the advancement of the methodology of the Hebrew language and to the study of Hebrew

grammar, but it undoubtedly represents an important stage in the groping for a method of teaching Hebrew in America. It is worthy of note that this was the first beginner's text, perhaps the only such text, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where recognition was given to post-biblical Hebrew and where this phase of Hebrew was regarded almost on a par with biblical Hebrew.

### HEBREW GRAMMAR IN AMERICA COMES OF AGE

The first modern Hebrew grammar, worthy of this designation and published in America, appeared in 1821. The author was Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. A second edition of this grammar, enlarged and improved, was published two years later. It is the latter edition which is under consideration in this essay.

Moses Stuart, to whom reference has already been made in these pages, was an autodidact. When, at the age of thirty, he assumed his post at the Andover Seminary, his knowledge of Hebrew was, by his own admission, extremely limited. In the course of time, however, he succeeded in furthering his Hebraic knowledge by studying the works of Schultens, Schröder, and especially Gesenius, among others, and turned the knowledge acquired to good advantage. His grammar is a methodical and comprehensive work, and it bears evidence of pedagogic insight. He must have been a gifted teacher.

At the conclusion of Part II of this book, dealing with orthography and phonology, the author presents a grammatical analysis of the first five verses of Genesis, in order to exemplify the application of the rules discussed in this part. He also offers occasionally sound pedagogic suggestions. For example, in order to enable the student to learn to identify the Hebrew letters and vowels with their respective sounds, he advises him to

practice writing them down, calling each aloud by name and uttering the sound of it as often as he writes it. Let this practice be persisted in, until all the vowels and consonants can be recognized with facility and pronounced readily; their distinctions definitely described and drawn with the pen at pleasure; and their names familiarly recalled (p. 46).

This advice is in keeping with the psychological principle of "multiple sense appeal."

In a text of this type, written over a century ago by a pioneering autodidact, it should not be surprising to find some basic errors in the light of modern grammatical science. Thus Stuart maintains that the final forms of *צ, פ, מ, ג, כ* were unknown to the translators of the Septuagint. The various Hebrew inscriptions, such as those of Mesha, Siloam, and others, had not yet been discovered, and he was, therefore, unaware of the fact that the final letters retain, in effect, the original forms. Nor did he know that the hard pronunciation of the *ה, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב* letters actually preceded their soft pronunciation. The theory held by him and other contemporary grammarians was that the *dagesh* was designed to indicate the removal of the original "aspirated" pronunciation of these letters. His discussion of the division of the vowels is unduly complicated and unscientific.

Less excusable are some unfounded and rash statements. One wonders, for example, where he picked up the information that "according to the Rabbins, the *ו* suspended in *מִיָּעַר* (Ps. 80:14) means Christ suspended" (p. 44). He was certainly on the wrong track when he attributed to the German Jews the pronunciation of the *kametz* "as *a* in *father*," while "the Jews in most of Europe, and (if I am rightly informed) in Palestine . . . are in favour of giving to it the sound of *a* in *all*" (p. 61). He was evidently not "rightly informed." At the time Stuart wrote, the prevailing pronunciation of Hebrew in Palestine was Sephardic, while that of the European Jews, including the Jews of Germany, was generally Ashkenazic, in which the *kametz* was pronounced *a*

as in *all*. The Jews of the Ukraine and Poland, on the other hand, gave the long *kametz* the sound of *oo* as in *food*. He should have checked the sources of his information more carefully. There is, likewise, no justification for his confusing Rashi script with "the Tam letter (probably so named from Tam a grandson of Yarchi, about A. D. 1200)."<sup>6</sup>

These and a number of other errors in this book do not, however, detract from its significance as an important milestone in the progress of Hebrew grammatical studies in the United States. The fact that this book went through seven editions bespeaks the esteem in which it was held and the influence which it exercised on scholars and students of the Hebrew language at that period.

The influence of Stuart's work is evident in the works of other grammarians of that period, particularly in that of James Seixas.<sup>7</sup> In the Introduction to the first edition of his *Manual Hebrew Grammar*, published in 1833, Seixas declared: "From a careful and frequent reading of the Bible with Professor Stuart's *Hebrew Grammar* (2nd edition) before me, I have obtained what these sheets contain." In this *Manual*, Seixas attempted to present a concise digest of Stuart's *Grammar*, comprised within the compass of forty-four pages, to which was added "A List of Peculiar and Anomalous Forms Found in the Hebrew Bible."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 29. The reference is, of course, to Jacob Tam, a grandson of Rashi. The confusion of Rashi with Yarchi occurs in another place in the text (p. 25), and was not uncommon among some scholars, who erroneously applied the surname Yarchi to Rashi, as early as the sixteenth century. This error is due to the confusion of Rashi, whose real name was Solomon ben Yitzhak, with Solomon ben Judah of Lunel, in the fifteenth century, who was given the surname of Yarchi, because the Hebrew *yareah* is the equivalent of the French *lune*.

<sup>7</sup> James Seixas was a converted Jew, who taught Hebrew to the Mormons and other Christian sects. A letter of appreciation for his "valuable course of Hebrew instruction" and profound influence on his pupils, written by Orson Hyde, one of the early Mormon leaders, dated March 31, 1834, is in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Seixas recognized the inadequacy of this succinct digest, and in his Introduction he stressed that it was "intended for those only who have read or may hereafter read Hebrew with the author." He undoubtedly supplemented this digest, in teaching his pupils, by additional exercises and exemplification, and he was very skeptical as to "whether anyone can obtain any satisfactory knowledge from these pages without some one to explain them."

Seixas must have been a popular teacher. He speaks of "the several hundreds whom I have instructed." In the second edition, which he published in 1834 "at the request of many friends," the text was "enlarged by more copious rules; by exercises in spelling, reading and translating, and by a full table of the Accents. Also a table of the characteristics of the conjugations in the future tense and in the participles has been added, and the list of the anomalies at the end has received some accessions."

Yet even the second edition, although expanded to more than double the size of the first edition, fails to measure up to our modern standards, both from the standpoint of methodology and from that of grammatical science. The exercises are inadequate and desultory. The nouns are not discussed at all. The author failed to understand the nature of the ל"ה verbs, and he regarded the *he* in these verbs as the original third radical, which changed to *yod* in the middle of the word. Had he read Stuart's *Hebrew Grammar* more carefully, he would not have made this error.<sup>8</sup>

A Hebrew textbook and grammar, small in size and meagre in content, appeared in 1834, under the authorship of Joseph Aaron, "Hebrew Professor and Teacher of Hebrew Grammar." The book bears the title, ספר מפתח אל לשון עברי וחכמת הדקדוק, מפורש עם נקודות. שער ראשון, *A Key to the Hebrew Language and the*

<sup>8</sup> See Stuart, Section 122.

*Science of Hebrew Grammar Explained (with Points). First Part.* In his Preface, the author states:

This little work is calculated to teach adults to read the Hebrew Language, with points, correctly, with Rules, which will enable them, with their own study and application, to attain that most desirable acquisition, of an acquaintance with the Holy Tongue.

This text consists of three parts: (a) a series of phonetic and grammatical rules, especially related to nouns; (b) a dictionary comprising some three hundred words, all monosyllables stemming from the Bible, with English translations; and (c) reading exercises drawn from the liturgy and translated into English. According to the author, in his prefatory comment to the Dictionary,

the following collection of words will not only serve to perfect the learner in joining the final consonants in syllables, the most abstruse to beginners, but also to furnish him with a good stock of words, both of which first principles of language (and most essential to the Hebrew tongue, in respect to the different translation of words nearly, and often identically the same in orthography and pronunciation) he will acquire by an imperceptible gradation, if his master assigns him a daily portion as a task, to be learned by rote.

The author is obviously overoptimistic, both as to the efficacy of the daily study of isolated words and as to the value of his selected vocabulary as a basis for a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. The study of isolated vocabulary is not regarded as desirable practice in modern linguistic methodology. Nor is the virtue of monosyllabic words recognized in modern pedagogy, especially when these words are not selected either in terms of occurrence frequency or of functional utility, as is the case of the vocabulary included in this text.

Aaron's text represents no distinct contribution either to the methodology of the Hebrew language or to grammatical science. The author, probably an East European or German Jew, must

have acquired some familiarity with the Sephardic pronunciation, then fashionable among the American Jews, and he confused the pronunciations of Hebrew considerably, as is evident from his inconsistent transliterations. Thus he transliterated *Shivo Nang* (*shewa na'*, vocal *shewa*), *Chataph pausuch* (*hataph patah*), and *Maisag* (*meteg*). He pronounced the *tzerei i* as in *mine* and the *kametz o* as in *go*, but the consonant *ayin* is pronounced by him as *ng*, in accordance with the usage then in vogue among the Sephardic Jews in America.

In his Preface, Aaron promised to publish a second part in which he intended to discuss "verbs with their conjugations." But this part apparently never appeared.

#### THE MOST SCIENTIFIC HEBREW GRAMMAR OF THE PERIOD IN AMERICA

Allusion has previously been made to the low level of Hebraic scholarship in America during the early part of the nineteenth century. There was hardly anyone in America during that period who possessed a thorough grounding in Hebraic sources and a scientific mastery of the Hebrew language. Little wonder, then, that the most scientific Hebrew grammar of that period and, perhaps, of the century, published in America, was written by a European-trained Jew, Isaac Nordheimer (1809-42).

Nordheimer received his early Hebraic training from the noted Talmudist, Moses Sofer of Pressburg, Hungary. He continued his studies in Germany and received his Ph.D. in Oriental languages from the University of München in 1834. Shortly thereafter, in 1835, he came to America, and in 1836 accepted the post of "Acting Professor of Arabic, etc." in the University of the City of New York. With the encouragement and assistance of his friend, William W. Turner, whose "constant and essential aid in both the literary and typographical execution" he



acknowledged, he published in two volumes *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (New York, 1838, 1841).

In this grammar, the author brings to bear upon his investigations of the Hebrew language his vast knowledge of Oriental and Indo-European languages, as well as of the general principles of comparative linguistics. He makes frequent references to Arabic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic, as well as to Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and to Germanic and Slavic languages. Some of his ideas may sound to us now farfetched, fanciful, and obsolete, but they certainly bespeak extensive erudition, ingenuity, and scholarship.

In the Introduction, Nordheimer sets forth his

constant aim, to analytically investigate, and synthetically investigate and explain, these laws which give rise to the phenomena of formation and inflection presented by one of the most natural and regular of languages; and at the same time incidentally to point out its surprisingly intimate connection, both lexicographical and grammatical, not only with the other Shemitish languages, but also with those of the Japhetish or Indo-European stock, . . .

Both in his style and in his approach he distinctly manifests the influences of his Germanic training, of German mysticism, and especially of that "new and splendid era of philology [which] has been reserved for the nineteenth century," and which had been ushered in by such brilliant grammarians as Wilhelm Gesenius (1786-1842) and Heinrich Ewald (died 1875). His zeal and enthusiasm for this "new and splendid era" seem to be boundless, and he regards "the revolution . . . produced within the last thirty years in the science of philology" as "one which for magnitude and rapidity has not been surpassed in the history of the human mind." He is often carried away by his zeal and enthusiasm into the realm of metaphysics, into philosophical discussions of the "eternal laws of speech," of "the intimate connection between the internal impression of the soul and its

external representative," of the "nature of the human mind and the genius of the language which is its offspring."

Aside from its involved style and pretentious metaphysics, Nordheimer's work contains much interesting material and many sound grammatical ideas. The discussion of the vowels and their development (Chapter II) based on the vocalic triangle, on the three ends of which are the three original vowels *i*, *a*, and *u*, is in consonance with our modern conceptions of the vowel-system. The treatment of consonant changes (Chapter VI) and vowel changes (Chapter VIII) is generally good and is amply exemplified, although it contains a number of errors. The analogies and comparisons adduced by the author from other Semitic and Indo-European languages are often enlightening and interesting. Thus, for example, the author's reference to the *i* vowel as a characteristic of the feminine gender in Semitic and Indo-European languages (Section 127) is intriguing and serves to explain a number of grammatical phenomena in Hebrew.<sup>9</sup>

Nordheimer, like the other grammarians of that period, failed to understand the phonetic evolution of the ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת letters. Like Stuart, he regarded the *dagesh* in these letters as evidence of their original "aspirate" pronunciation (Section 38). Unlike Stuart, however, he misunderstood and misconstrued the nature of the segolate nouns and of the ל"ה verbs.

In corroboration of the assumption that the "aspirate" pronunciation is the original, Nordheimer adduces "the fact that the aspirate pronunciation is that which is denoted in the simplest manner, viz., by the character alone, while the unaspirate sound is signified by the addition of a diacritical point"; namely, the *dagesh*. This evidence is, however, invalid. The *dagesh* originated during the Masoretic period, long after the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the writer's *Kimhi's Hebrew Grammar (Mikhlol)*, 274, n. 475.

original explosive pronunciation of the ה, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב letters had been lost by a process of partial assimilation of these consonants to the open-lip position of the preceding vowel; compare the Latin *habeo*, Anglo-Saxon *haeban*, and English *have*; or the Latin *sapiens* and French *savant*.<sup>10</sup>

The rejection of the helping-vowel in the declension of the segolates was regarded by Nordheimer as due to the fact that "the second vowel is shifted back to the first consonant and shortened, e. g. מִלְכָּה with suff. מִלְכָּי for מִלְכִּי" (Section 103, 2). Stuart, on the other hand, correctly interpreted such instances as a restoration of the original form, where the "furtive vowel" in the second syllable is dropped in the declensions, the original form being מִלְכָּה (Section 143).

Similarly, Nordheimer erroneously construed the *he* in the ל"ה verbs as a radical, which changes in the inflections to *yod* (בִּנְיָה) or is "hardened into its cognate ת, e. g. בִּנְיָה for בִּנְיָה" (Section 439). He merely observes in a footnote that the evidence in Hebrew and in Arabic has led "some late writers to conclude that all Hebrew ל"ה verbs were originally either ל"י or ל"י." Stuart consistently and correctly viewed the *he* in these verbs as replacing a *yod* or a *waw*, in order to avoid ending a word with these "moveable consonants" (Section 122).<sup>11</sup> Both Stuart and Nordheimer were, however, wrong in regarding the ת in בִּנְיָה, as well as in the inflected nominal forms of the feminine (חֲכָמִי), as a substitute for the *he*. As a matter of fact, the ת (t) is the original feminine characteristic termination of both verbs and nouns in the Semitic languages. Under the influence of a preceding vowel, this characteristic ending tends to fall away, by partial assimilation to the open-lip position of the vowel, also

<sup>10</sup> On the origin of the *dagesh* see W. Chomsky, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XXXII, I, p. 45, n. 63.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 205, n. 301.

in Arabic and in Aramaic in nouns, but it is retained in both these languages in the verb. This phenomenon is common also in Indo-European languages.<sup>12</sup> The *he* at the end of the word in Hebrew merely serves as a vowel indication, warning the reader not to end the word with a vowel-less consonant. In the inflected forms, however, the ה is retained. In the case of גָּלְתָהּ, the form probably evolved from גָּלַת (contracted from גָּלְלוּת; cf. וַעֲשֵׂת Lev. 25:21), where the ה came to be regarded as a radical, consequently giving rise to גָּלְתָהּ under the influence of the predominating form קָטְלָהּ.

Incidentally, the theory that the third radical in the verbs is really *yod* (or *waw* which passes into *yod*) was advanced as early as the beginning of the twelfth century by Moses Ibn Chiquitilla,<sup>13</sup> although Derenbourg attributes this theory to Samuel Ha-Nagid.<sup>14</sup> Among the modern grammarians, Gesenius seems to have been the first to arrive at this theory independently.<sup>15</sup>

Neither Stuart nor Nordheimer had any clear idea about the nature of the Hebrew tenses. Both employed the Indo-Germanic names of the three periods of time (past or preterite, present, and future), which are entirely foreign to the Semitic tense idea, according to which occurrences are viewed only in terms of completed or incomplete action. The character or kind of the action, rather than the time of the action, is indicated by the Hebrew tenses, as was clearly and cogently stated by Driver in *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (1874). Nordheimer's lengthy and involved statement, in which he argues that the

<sup>12</sup> Cf. O. Jespersen, *Language*, 265, and O'Leary, *Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages*, 54 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Bacher, *Hebräische Sprachwissenschaft*, 60, and *Abraham Ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, 91 f. and 153.

<sup>14</sup> *Opusculs et Traités d'Abou'l-Walid Merwan Ibn Djinah*, Introduction XX.

<sup>15</sup> *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 421.

"choice of tenses in the Hebrew, as well as the paucity of their number, are additional proofs of the venerable antiquity of the language," is, therefore, unfounded, and further attests the influence of German mysticism on his grammatical thinking.

Both Stuart and Nordheimer were the outstanding Hebrew grammarians of that period in America. Nordheimer was the greater Hebraic scholar and the more profound linguist, but Stuart must have been superior to him in teaching ability. Nordheimer's *Grammar* lacks the simplicity and clarity of style, as well as the systematic, methodical organization which Stuart's *Grammar* possesses. This might explain why Stuart's work enjoyed such vogue and popularity as to go through seven editions, whereas only two editions of Nordheimer's *Grammar* appeared.

Stuart, Seixas, and Nordheimer<sup>16</sup> all refer erroneously to an inverted *nun* in נָסַע (Num. 10:35). This error is due to the fact that the section וַיְהִי בְּנָסַע (Num. 10:35-36) is marked off in our Masoretic text by an inverted *nun* at the beginning and at the end. This *nun* was plausibly construed by Ludwig Blau as the initial of *nakud* (punctuated), referring to the dots which had been in the text originally above and below the letters in this section, but were later eliminated to prevent confusion resulting from the letters and dots running into one another.<sup>17</sup> These grammarians must have regarded this inverted *nun* as referring to the *nun* of נָסַע.

<sup>16</sup> See M. Stuart, *Hebrew Grammar* (2nd edition), 44; J. Seixas, *Manual Hebrew Grammar* (1833), 12; I. Nordheimer, *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (New York, 1838, 1841), I, 7, n.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the talmudic statement, Shabbat 115b-116a, עשה לה הקב"ה סימניות מלמעלה, and Rashi *ad loc.*, also Soferim 6:1.

# THE FIRST SPELLERS AND PRIMERS FOR JEWISH SCHOOLS IN AMERICA

All these scholarly efforts were designed primarily for adult beginners or advanced students of Hebrew in the colleges and universities. The first attempt to meet the needs of the young pupils in the elementary grades of the Jewish schools, which began to be established during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was made by that indefatigable worker on behalf of Jewish education in America during that period, Isaac Leiser. His textbook, entitled *מורה דרך ללמד את נערי בני ישראל*, *דרכי לשון עברית*, *The Hebrew Reader Designed as an Easy Guide to the Hebrew Tongue for Jewish Children and Self-Instruction*. No. I, *The Spelling Book*, was first published in 1838, and in 1856 the fourth edition of this text was issued.

This book, as Leiser writes in his Preface to the fourth edition, was to be the first of "a whole series calculated for the acquisition of the Hebrew, if proper encouragement had been extended." He complained, however, that although the book "has met with approbation, still the sale has been quite small." Yet the author drew comfort from the fact that "additional efforts are made to erect schools for the spread of the Hebrew language," and consequently he felt that he might be encouraged to proceed with the publication of "Hebrew Reader No. II, containing easy lessons for translations from Hebrew into English."

It is regrettable that Leiser did not carry out his plan for the publication of the subsequent readers of the series. *The Spelling Book* merely gives attention to phonetic aspects of Hebrew. It provides exercises, as well as a few simple grammatical rules of pronunciation and reading of the language. Liturgical selections with English translations are appended at the end of the book.

*The Spelling Book* also includes directions to the teachers, designed to guide them in the proper use of the lessons in the text. These directions are interspersed among the lessons, a practice which is, from a pedagogic point of view, unsatisfactory. However, both in the construction of the reading exercises for the pupils, as well as in his suggestions to the teachers, Lesser evinces a fine pedagogic insight and acumen.

A primer much more comprehensive in scope and ambitious in approach and method was that by the Reverend G. M. Cohen, published in 1850, bearing the endorsements of Rabbis Leo Merzbacher, Max Lilienthal, Herman Felsenheld, and Muhlfelder. This work, *The Hebrew Language*, consists of two parts: theoretical and practical. The first, the theoretical part, contains rules covering virtually the entire range of Hebrew grammar, concisely presented, as well as paradigms of both nouns and verbs. The second part comprises reading and language exercises. The language exercises are modeled on the pattern of the Ollendorf method of teaching foreign languages, according to which each lesson exemplifies a certain specific principle of grammar or usage and operates with a limited new vocabulary, which is given at the beginning of the lesson. Translation exercises for drill purposes are provided in each lesson. These exercises consist of expressions and sentences which are mainly disconnected, although toward the end of this book some original stories and connected discourse, incorporating biblical materials, are included.

Cohen was undoubtedly a good Hebraist and a fine pedagogue. His Hebrew is, in the main, accurate and, in the spirit of the time, biblical, but it is simple and direct, without the periphrases and the flourishes characteristic of the *Haskalah* style, then in vogue. Some of his pedagogic ideas may sound revolutionary even today. Few of our modern Hebrew educators

in America would subscribe, for example, to the following recommendation made by our author:

As soon as the scholar knows the letters well and is able to combine them with some alacrity, nothing should be read by him without the meaning thereof being given immediately. He ought never to imagine that a word could be read without understanding it.

Yet it is doubtful whether Cohen had any direct experience in teaching children. He attempted to achieve results which are unrealistic. He managed to compress within the framework of some thirty pages the fundamental principles of Hebrew grammar, and, within a little over fifty pages, a vocabulary of some six hundred words in various formations. It is inconceivable how children, in the primary grades, could be expected to master all this material in one year, or even in two years, even taking into consideration the fact that the Hebrew instruction in those days was given in all-day schools. Such a feat would tax the capacities also of older beginners.

Furthermore, one finds it difficult to reconcile the author's statement that the pupil "ought never to imagine that a word could be read without understanding it" with his procedure of including in the text liturgical selections, without translations, which are couched in a vocabulary beyond that incorporated in the Hebrew section. Did he mean to exempt liturgical Hebrew from the category of words that should never be read without comprehension? Cohen's point of view in this regard is not entirely clear.

The mechanical make-up of the Hebrew primers in those days was, of course, far below the modern standards for such books. They were drab and unattractive in appearance. The print was small, and no pictures or illustrations, no rhymes or songs, no frills or furbelows were employed to relieve the monotony and drabness of these texts. This may be one reason why Jewish education was so unpopular in those days, even



though the public schools had not yet come into vogue to claim the major part of the time and attention of the Jewish children.

#### SUMMARY

In sum, the development of Hebrew grammar and textbook writing during the early part of the nineteenth century proceeded along two lines: methodological and philological. Most of the works discussed here had a didactic motivation and purpose. They were designed primarily to teach Hebrew to beginners, young and old. Two of these grammars, those by Stuart and Nordheimer, were also designed to further the science of Hebrew grammar. Although crudities and errors are to be found in both the methodological and the philological areas, there is no doubt that these works constituted the groundwork for the progress of Hebraic studies in this country. Some of these works, especially those of Stuart and Nordheimer, can still be studied with profit.



# The Founders of "Wissenschaft des Judentums" and America

GUIDO KISCH

## I

### ON AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

TWENTY-THREE years ago, even before his arrival in America, this writer became acutely aware of the importance of research in the history of the Jews in the New World. The various causes of emigration from Europe, political and legal as well as religious and economic, the fate of the immigrants in their new homeland, their religious activities, and their achievements in all areas of human culture aroused his interest as an historian. The interaction of European atmosphere and American climate caught his special attention and occupied it for many years. From this interest several studies resulted, small in size at the beginning, later growing in volume through increasing historical materials and a deepening insight into the religious developments and sociological problems.<sup>1</sup> Future Amer-

Dr. Guido Kisch is Research Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in New York.

<sup>1</sup> "German Jews in White Labor Servitude in America," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXXIV (1937), 11-49; "A Voyage to America Ninety Years Ago: The Diary of a Bohemian Jew on His Voyage from Hamburg to New York, 1847," *PAJHS*, XXXV (1939), 65-113; "Israel's Herald: The First Jewish Weekly in New York," *Historia Judaica*, II (1940), 65-84; "Two American Jewish Pioneers of New Haven," *Historia Judaica*, IV (1942), 16-37; "The Revolution

ican Jewish historiography will have to assess whatever merit these researches may have.

Despite the availability of the abundant resources of the libraries in New York, great idealism and sincere devotion to scholarship were needed to carry on and successfully complete such studies. A volume of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society appeared at irregular intervals, about every two to four years. "Unlike the quarterly of the American Historical Association where there frequently appear speculative and theoretical articles, the *Publications* show a consistent devotion to notes, sketches, isolated documents, historical oddments and tag ends. Exceptions, such as Alexander Marx's 'Aims and Tasks of Jewish Historiography' (1918), were few in number. The first volume, published in 1893, bears a close resemblance to many of its thirty-four successors."<sup>2</sup> Obviously, historical research owes a debt of gratitude to all the well-meaning amateur historians who preserved historical materials in the pages of the *Publications*. As a rule, however, their comments

of 1848 and the Jewish 'On to America' Movement," *PAJHS*, XXXVIII (1949), 185-234; *In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia* (London, 1949), xvi, 373 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Harold J. Jonas, "Writing American Jewish History," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, VI (1943), 144; moreover, the important discussion in Bernard D. Weinryb, "American Jewish Historiography: Facts and Problems," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXIII, Part II (1950-51), 221-44; cf. also H. Schmidt, "A Broader Approach to Jewish History," *Commentary*, VIII (1949), 588-93. On the American Jewish Historical Society, Isidore S. Meyer, "The American Jewish Historical Society," *Journal of Jewish Bibliography*, IV (1943), Nos. 1-2. A good survey of the present state of research in American Jewish history is found in Joshua Trachtenberg, "American Jewish Scholarship," *The Jewish People — Past and Present*, IV (New York, 1955), 446-48. On modern Jewish scholarship in America in general, Ismar Elbogen, "American Jewish Scholarship: A Survey," *American Jewish Year Book*, XLV (1943), 47-65; Solomon B. Freehof, "Prospects for American Jewish Scholarship," *Judaism*, III (1954), 381-90; cf. also Joshua Trachtenberg, "Jewish Bibliography in America," *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, II (1956), 99-101; Moses Rischin, *An Inventory of American Jewish History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

were limited to such remarks as "The document is self-explanatory," "The letters may speak for themselves," and the like. This, of course, hardly deserved the name of historiography. Nor did it produce understanding or encouragement of attempts at a scholarly approach toward American Jewish history.

The present situation differs considerably from that of even ten years ago. American Jewish history, which in some circles was regarded as altogether without scholarly quality because of its lack of Hebrew sources, has risen to the academic level. All Jewish institutions of higher learning in the country teach it as a supplement to the study of the ancient, medieval, and modern European history of the Jews. A number of important research centers came into being, destined to collect and preserve materials as well as to stimulate interest in this most recent addition to the various fields of Jewish history. Still more, a methodology of American Jewish history is under scholarly discussion, and new ways and means of literary approach are being worked out, adjusted to the specific character of the subject. The tercentenary celebration made the general public aware of the aims and tasks of American Jewish history and historiography, although, from a scholarly point of view, it has failed — at least until now — to produce the American "Graetz" or "Dubnow."

To Professor Jacob R. Marcus goes credit for a considerable share in the upward trend of the development so briefly outlined. In addition to the founding of the American Jewish Archives and the scholarly journal of the same name published under its auspices, his own well-known literary output in the new area of Jewish historiography furnishes ample evidence of this. It was appreciation of his work and achievements that persuaded me to accept the invitation of the editor to participate in the volume commemorating the tenth anniversary of the American Jewish Archives. To contribute an article to a

*Festschrift* comprised exclusively of essays in American Jewish history involved considerable difficulties not only on account of the time limit, but also because of my present preoccupation with problems of the history of European Jewry during the sixteenth century. The very sketchy presentation that follows can, therefore, merely touch on and direct the attention of scholars to a problem of American Jewish *Geistesgeschichte* that deserves thoroughgoing investigation on a larger scale than has heretofore been accorded it. Unfortunately, the author must deny himself the privilege of delving more deeply into this subject.

## II

## LEOPOLD ZUNZ'S LETTERS TO AMERICA

More than half a century ago, Ludwig Geiger stated in the conclusion to his interesting article, "Aus L. Zunz' Nachlass": "In three years Zunz's one hundredth birthday will be commemorated; a dignified biography would seem the most worthwhile celebration of this memorial day."<sup>3</sup> In 1936, at the time of Zunz's fiftieth *Jahrzeit*, Ismar Elbogen revived the memory of one of the greatest Jewish historians of the nineteenth century with a fine brief, yet comprehensive, essay.<sup>4</sup> Up to this day, however, a biography worthy of the "father of 'Wissenschaft des Judentums'" has not yet been written.<sup>5</sup> In an earlier valuable study, "Aus dem Leben Leopold Zunz," Siegmund Maybaum correctly assessed the great difficulties which will confront the future biographer of that outstanding figure in

<sup>3</sup> Ludwig Geiger's *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, V (1892), 268.

<sup>4</sup> Ismar Elbogen, "Leopold Zunz zum Gedächtnis," *Fünfzigster Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1936), 14-32.

<sup>5</sup> For bibliography, see Alexander Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York, 1944), 346, note 1.

the history of Jewish scholarship: "Through his many-sided activities in scholarship and life Zunz makes no small demands on the intellectual qualities of his biographer. First of all, he must be thoroughly acquainted with the development of the entire 'Jüdische Wissenschaft' in his century, influenced as it was for the most part in its foundation and growth by Zunz; then, he must be familiar with the school system of the Berlin Jewish community and also with the political movements of the year 1848 and the following period; finally, he must not be lacking an intimate knowledge of the cultural history of the Jews in this era and of the history of journalism and belles-lettres in Prussia and Berlin during the first half of the nineteenth century."<sup>6</sup> This statement is of undiminished validity even today.

Zunz's modern biographer will be even more intrigued. While the work of preceding generations concentrated on the collection and presentation of the documentary raw material, his task will be to evaluate it from the point of view of the history of ideas. Only recently was Zunz's dependence on the ideological structure of scholarship in his own time first investigated.<sup>7</sup> A similar approach will be necessary to reveal his influence on modern Jewish scholarship in general and also on America. That such a topic is by no means far-fetched is self-evident. If it should need support from the factual aspect of Zunz's personal interest in America and the receptivity of American Jewish scholars to the master's work even during his lifetime, a few documents offer eloquent evidence of such

<sup>6</sup> *Wissenschaftliche Beigabe zum Oster-Programm der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Berlin, 1894), 63 pages in quarto.

<sup>7</sup> Luitpold Wallach, "The Scientific and Philosophical Background of Zunz's 'Science of Judaism,'" *Historia Judaica*, IV (1942), 51-70; Wallach, "The Beginnings of the Science of Judaism in the Nineteenth Century," *ibid.*, VIII (1946), 44-60, with further bibliography; Fritz Bamberger, "Zunz's Conception of History," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XI (1941), 1-25.

contacts. Attention will be directed to them in the following pages.

The earliest document goes back to the year 1822, a time from which very few examples of the otherwise abundant Zunz correspondence are preserved.<sup>8</sup> It is the well-known letter of June 1, 1822, addressed to Mordecai Manuel Noah, who had launched his "Ararat" project of a Jewish State in America and found interest for it among the members of the *Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in Berlin*.<sup>9</sup> After some contacts with the group had been established, Noah received an official letter from the *Verein* in Berlin, signed by Eduard Gans, the learned Hegelian, antagonist of Friedrich Carl von Savigny, and later professor of law at the University of Berlin, as the president, and by Zunz, as the vice-president. It expresses appreciation, gratitude, and even enthusiasm for the project because of "the general distress and public calamity under which a great part of the European Jews labored some years ago and still are seen to labor." "The more enlightened and respectable segment of European Jews are looking with anxious eagerness to the United States of North America, happy to exchange the miseries of their native soil for public freedom which is there granted to every religion and likewise for that general happiness

<sup>8</sup> Zunz, "Meine Schriften," *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 1936 (Berlin, 1937), 168, note 10, by Immanuel Bernfeld.

<sup>9</sup> Published in two different English translations: Samuel Oppenheim, "Mordecai M. Noah: A Letter to Him, Dated 1822, from Eduard Gans and Leopold Zunz, Relating to the Emigration of German Jews to America," *PAJHS*, XX (1911), 147-49; Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875* (New York, 1950), pp. 159 f., with an historical account on pp. 157 f. and p. 604, note 4. Cf. Bernard D. Weinryb, "Noah's Ararat Jewish State in Its Historical Setting," *PAJHS*, XLIII (1954), 170 ff., especially pp. 184 f. and note 50; Siegfried Ucko, "Geistesgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Motive des Kulturvereins vom Jahre 1819)," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, V (1934), 23, 33 (on Sinai [Eliezar Simon] Kirschbaum's pamphlet, *Hilkhoth Temoth Hamashiah*, published in 1822).



which not the adherents of a privileged faith alone, but every citizen is allowed to share." "Information relating to the state of the Jews in America, their progress in business and knowledge and the rights allowed them in general and by each state" is requested in order to promote "the emigration of European Jews to the United States . . . from a country where they have nothing to look forward to but endless slavery and oppression." This letter which, unfortunately, is preserved only in contemporary translations from the German published in American newspapers, reflects very clearly the mood of despair and the waning hope for a change in the oppressive political climate in Germany.

Another such outpouring of despondency from Zunz's pen reached the shores of America after the failure of the Revolution of 1848. As much as fifteen years earlier, Zunz had an eye on America, at that time giving consideration to an offer of a rabbinical position in New York.<sup>10</sup> Now, in the spring of 1849, he became a literary contributor to the newly founded first Jewish weekly in New York, *Israels Herold*, and also a correspondent, sending to its editor, Isidore Busch, reports on the situation of the Jews in Germany.<sup>11</sup> An anonymous "Letter from Berlin," preserved in the original German in the pages of that newspaper, is for the most part political in content.<sup>12</sup> Zunz's interest in politics and his journalistic-political activity as a member of the editorial staff of the influential *Spenersche Zeitung* in Berlin are well known.<sup>13</sup> There can be no doubt

<sup>10</sup> David Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I (Frankfurt am Main, 1908), 343.

<sup>11</sup> For details, see Guido Kisch, "Israels Herold," *Historia Judaica*, II (1940), 75 f.

<sup>12</sup> *Israels Herold*, I (1849), 63.

<sup>13</sup> Siegmund Maybaum, "Aus dem Leben Leopold Zunz," 14, note 1; 16. Zunz's work on the editorial staff of the *Spenersche Zeitung* deserves a detailed investigation.

that this letter was written by him.<sup>14</sup> It displays his skepticism, sarcasm, and bluntness. As he had done earlier, and as he did again later on, in discussing the status of the Jews, Zunz resorted to a "*Flucht in die Öffentlichkeit*" by mentioning in public his private affairs. Who else was as well informed and concerned about Zunz's pitiful personal situation as Zunz himself? He who in 1848 had expressed his loyal sympathy with the revolutionaries,<sup>15</sup> offered in mocking terms a description of the Jewish situation, against the background of the general situation, and bitterly complained about his own misfortune. The letter, dated Berlin, April 30, 1849, reads in part, in English translation, as follows:

You ask me for reports on Jewish conditions at a time when no one is a Jew, and no one a Christian, when perhaps the Jews feel more sympathy for Pope Pius IX (who, with the aid of the French, is now entering Rome quite peacefully and grants amnesty) than many a Catholic; when many a Christian is a more ardent admirer of the Jews of Jacob than of his saints! A time when our brothers in Hungary put on the knapsack instead of the *Zidakel* [*Zizit*: "fringes"] and even the walls of Bremen do not collapse at the acceptance of Jews as citizens within it!

For instance, who is concerned now when the wealthy [Jewish] community of Berlin, in wretched niggardliness, withdraws the small annual stipend from an old man highly deserving of it for his scholarly work, a man who is an ornament of Israel of whom one might well be proud,

<sup>14</sup> Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 353, refers to a statement by Zunz: "There appeared in November, 1842, in the *Spensersche Zeitung* an article against [Zacharias] Frankel which some people wrongly ascribe to me; I do not write anonymously." "This statement is rather curious," adds Marx, "since twelve years earlier Zunz had sent a long critical article (which was never printed) to [Gabriel] Riesser with the injunction to publish it anonymously and not to tell even his most intimate friends who the author was." In the case under discussion above, the reason for the anonymity is, quite obviously, to be found in the then existing political situation. On the latter, see Zunz's own remarks in Marx, *op. cit.*, 355.

<sup>15</sup> See Ludwig Geiger, "Zunz im Verkehr mit Behörden und Hochgestellten," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, LX (1916), 246.

and would expose him to want, a man like Zunz, were it not for the noblehearted friends who gladly efface such disgrace by contributing of their own means? Berlin continues to be besieged, a second Chamber elected by the people is dissolved once more. Again a few human sacrifices fall before the Moloch-like kingdom, the purple is revived with blood. . . .

. . . and with all this, you still wish reports on Judaism? Pardon me, I cannot help you in this; nevertheless, I shall shortly send you the [*Allgemeine*] *Zeitung des Judentums* and the *Orient* by steamer; besides, they are not read very much even here.<sup>16</sup>

The third Zunz letter sent to an American correspondent is of an entirely different character. It was written twenty-five years later and was addressed to Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal in Chicago. On the eve of Zunz's eightieth birthday Felsenthal joined with two other eminent American rabbis and scholars, Kaufmann Kohler and Liebmann Adler, as well as with a prominent lawyer and leader in Jewish community activities, Julius Rosenthal, all of Chicago, in addressing an enthusiastic letter of congratulation to Zunz. In it his great achievements and his many contributions to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* were extolled, and the debt owed him by American Jewish scholarship and the letter writers who recognized him gratefully as their teacher was described in vivid language. His entire literary work was reviewed in detail and praised. A draft of the letter is preserved in the Felsenthal collection of the American Jewish Historical Society, and is published here for the first time.<sup>17</sup> Zunz's letter of thanks and appreciation did not

<sup>16</sup> The original wording in German is reproduced in Appendix I. A similar habit of employing the press in the interests of his own private affairs is related also of Zunz's friend and onetime associate in the *Kulturverein*, Heinrich Heine, the poet; see Eugen Wohlhaupter, *Dichterjuristen* (Tübingen, 1955), II, 515: "Nach einem Zwischenspiel, in welchem Heine wieder einmal die Presse für seine privaten Interessen zu mobilisieren versuchte, . . ."

<sup>17</sup> Appendix II. This letter is mentioned by Adolf Kober, "Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in America as Reflected in the Felsenthal Collection," *PAJHS*,

convey similar rejoicing.<sup>18</sup> It was dictated by a mood of melancholy and depression. Having lost, less than a week before, his faithful companion "after fifty-two years and one hundred days of happily married life," he was broken in spirit, never again to recover.<sup>19</sup> From a letter of Moritz Steinschneider, published below, we learn that through his mediation Felsenthal sent another letter of congratulation to Zunz ten years later, on the occasion of the master's ninetieth birthday.<sup>20</sup> Neither its wording nor the reply is known.

Zunz's work, however, has not ceased to exert influence upon American Jewish scholarship to this very day. If literary support for this positive statement be needed, a more impressive statement could hardly be found than the following paragraph in the conclusion of Solomon Schechter's appraisal of Zunz's literary work, which was written with clear vision long before the future leader of the Conservative movement was called to America.

It is difficult to say what turn Judaism would have taken without the influence of Zunz in those parts of the world where the Jews have

XLV (1955), 100. Sincere thanks are due to Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer, librarian and editor of the American Jewish Historical Society, for placing this, as well as the Zunz, Geiger, and Steinschneider letters, Appendices III, V, and VI, at my disposal, and for permission to publish them.

<sup>18</sup> It is published from the original in the Felsenthal collection, Appendix III. Cf. Adolf Kober, "Aspects of the Influence of Jews from Germany on American Jewish Spiritual Life of the Nineteenth Century," in Eric E. Hirschler (editor), *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York, 1955), 170 f.

<sup>19</sup> This is corroborated also by a letter from Abraham Geiger to Felsenthal of September 16, 1874, printed in Kober, *loc. cit.*, pp. 171 f. There Geiger refers to the congratulatory letter that "pleased him [Geiger] greatly and brought much joy also to Zunz, evidence of which is found in his letter of thanks."

<sup>20</sup> Appendix VI. On the same occasion Felsenthal published an article, "Leopold Zunz," in the *Illinois Staatszeitung* of August 8, 1884, which was reprinted in the *Jewish Herald* of August 15, 1884; Emma Felsenthal, *Bernhard Felsenthal, Teacher in Israel* (New York, 1924), 325, No. 191.

already ceased, or have not as yet begun, to think, and in which the respect for institutions is so great that the fact of their mere existence is sufficient reason for maintaining them. In these countries Judaism will always remain the private property of *Parnasim* and a matter of indifference to the great bulk of the community. But happily there are also other countries, and they contain the great majority of the Jews, where people do think and where the power of the idea is so great that nothing else but ideas could reconcile them with Judaism. For these countries Zunz did a saving work by revealing to them the great idea of Judaism, and it is in these countries that we have to look for the future of Judaism.<sup>21</sup>

### III

#### AMERICAN CONTACTS OF OTHER LUMINARIES OF "WISSENSCHAFT DES JUDENTUMS"

No less research and effort than for Zunz will have to be expended also on determining the influence on American Jewish scholarship of other luminaries of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In fact, such names as Zacharias Frankel (1801-75), Abraham Geiger (1810-74), Heinrich (Hirsch) Graetz (1817-91), and Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) became stars in the firmament of the modern Jewish scholarly world, including America. Here, too, only a few literary finds and observations can be offered in the notes that follow; intensive search for as complete raw material as possible and its evaluation must at present remain a

<sup>21</sup> Solomon Schechter, "Leopold Zunz," in his *Studies in Judaism: Third Series* (Philadelphia, 1924), pp. 115 f. This essay, comprising pp. 84-142, "was written in 1889 for a prize offered by the New York Jewish Ministers' Association, which was awarded for it in 1890. The intention to enlarge it and to add some of Zunz's unpublished notes was never carried out." Cf. Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 279, note. It would seem to be a good idea for the New York Board of Rabbis to offer another prize for a definitive biography of Zunz. It is significant, indeed, that the editor of and contributors to the most recent one-volume Jewish history, *Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People* (New York, 1956), could find no more appropriate motto for their work than a quotation from Leopold Zunz.

wistful hope. The name of Adolf Jellinek (1820-93), the celebrated preacher and profound student of philosophy, Kabala, and Midrash, should not be left unmentioned in this connection. Not even its significance for the development of Jewish preaching in America has until now claimed an historian's attention.<sup>22</sup>

Abraham Geiger's ideas had a most powerful impact on the growth of American Judaism, and his influence proved to be lasting.<sup>23</sup> Yet he himself could not realize or foresee this during his lifetime. Only five weeks before he died, he wrote to Rabbi Felsenthal in Chicago: "My contact with America is very loose. Kohler, Landsberger [Max Landsberg] in Rochester, young Adler [Felix Adler] do not write a single word." Nevertheless, he concluded what was probably his last letter to America with the following question and statement: "Will you send us new pupils from America? We could use them and they us."<sup>24</sup>

Zacharias Frankel's importance for American Jewish religious thought and life is by no means of lesser magnitude, nor should it be underestimated, in spite of the fact that until now American scholars have given it scant attention.<sup>25</sup> Frankel is the only one

<sup>22</sup> A brief article, "Jellinek and America," was published by George Alexander Kohut in *PAJHS*, XXXIII (1934), 237-49. Apart from the few documents reproduced therein, it contains merely sentimental reminiscences in a more belletristic style. Not even the alleged occasion of their compilation and publication is historically correct: the year 1930 did *not* mark "the centenary (1930) of the death of Adolf Jellinek." He died in 1893. Cf., moreover, Guido Kisch, *In Search of Freedom*, 298, note 18.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. David Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York, 1931), *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> Abraham Geiger's letter to Felsenthal of September 16, 1874 (the Felsenthal collection of the American Jewish Historical Society): "... Meine Verbindung mit Amerika ist sehr locker. Kohler, Landsberger [Max Landsberg] in Rochester, der junge Adler lassen nicht ein Wörtchen von sich hören. ... Werden Sie uns neue Schüler aus Amerika senden? Wir können sie und sie uns brauchen."

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Philipson, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Louis Ginzberg, "Zechariah Frankel," in his *Students, Scholars and Saints* (Philadelphia, 1928), 195-216. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, 216, concluded his discourse on Frankel with these words: "The whole future of Jewish science depends upon whether we shall number among ourselves many more men

among the early representatives of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* who gave any thought to American Jewish history. As early as 1863 he even published a long article, "Zur Geschichte der Juden Amerikas," which has completely escaped American Jewish historians. It is an extensive, critical review of I. J. Benjamin II's *Drei Jahre in Amerika, 1859-62*, with numerous references to related publications and a number of corrections.<sup>26</sup> In commenting on George Washington's well-known letter to

who, like Frankel, shall combine harmoniously the old and the new." In commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Frankel's birth, a pamphlet was published by Professor Gotthard Deutsch of Cincinnati entitled *Zachariah Frankel* (author, place, and date of publication not given on the cover). A dedication page reads: "To the Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Rabbi Emeritus of Sinai Congregation, Chicago, Ill., are these pages respectfully dedicated on the occasion of his Eightieth Birthday, January 2, 1902, by his true friend and admirer, G. Deutsch." The pamphlet contains three addresses, each entitled "Zachariah Frankel," by Gotthard Deutsch, Louis Ginzberg, and Kaufmann Kohler, which had been delivered at the Frankel memorial meeting of the Ohole Shem Society, on October 6, 1901, in New York. (A copy of the rare pamphlet is in the New York Public Library.) In his necrology, "Solomon Schechter," Ginzberg, 250 f., remarked: "In his first public address in this country he [Schechter] stated that the paramount duty of American Jewry is the emancipation of Jewish science . . . it is . . . the source of our rejuvenation, the spring from which we draw life and existence." This is in the good tradition of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In contrast to Ginzberg, Norman Bentwich, *Solomon Schechter: A Biography* (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 42 ff., relates practically nothing of Schechter's relationship to Frankel's school of thought and apparently did not search for solid information. Yet Bentwich knew that Rabbi Pincus Fritz (not Friedrich) Frankl lived with Schechter "as David and Jonathan," that the last-mentioned "lived much of the time in Frankl's house," and that Schechter dedicated to his memory the first volume of his *Studies in Judaism*. Pincus Fritz Frankl, successor to Abraham Geiger, as a rabbi in Berlin, was one of Zacharias Frankel's most gifted students and a favorite pupil of his. His intellectual relationship with Schechter was certainly important, of lasting influence, and by no means confined to the insignificant details reported by Bentwich.

<sup>26</sup> *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XII (1863), 321-29; 361-77; 431-33; cf. Guido Kisch, *In Search of Freedom*, pp. 185 f. Frankel's article remained unknown also to all who cooperated in the recent English translation, I. J. Benjamin, *Three Years in America, 1859-1862*, translated from the German by Charles Reznikoff, with an introduction by Oscar Handlin, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1956), in spite of the fact that the last-mentioned author once reviewed my book in which the quotation is to be found.

the Hebrew congregation of Newport, R. I., Frankel remarked: "In Newport, a phase in American Jewish history has found fulfillment, which evokes admiration as well as sadness. History finds its continuation on different soil, if, as we must state regretfully, with less splendor. Yet America has a great future, and the hope may be uttered that Judaism in America, too, will fulfil its mission."<sup>27</sup>

Heinrich Graetz is perhaps the only historic figure among the founders of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* to whose significance for Jewish learning and education in the broadest meaning of the terms for American Jewry a specific study has been devoted. In commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great Jewish historian, the editor of *Historia Judaica* invited Dr. Solomon Grayzel to write an historical evaluation of the role played by Graetz's classical work on Jewish history in America. This fine essay, to which the reader may be referred for detailed information, studies the genesis and success of the "American Graetz" on the basis of archival and newspaper material.<sup>28</sup> Only a few illustrative findings and statements of its author on Graetz's influence upon Jewish historical thought and knowledge in America may be quoted here.

... Of the greatness of that influence there can be no doubt. It may be measured by the number of sets of the American edition sold by the Jewish Publication Society, which reached into many tens of thousands, though their price was not particularly cheap. It may also be measured by the fact that other publishers thought it good business to produce a translation of the *Volkstümliche Geschichte*, another and more condensed abbreviation of the larger German work. ...

<sup>27</sup> Frankel, *loc. cit.*, 329 (translation from the German). In his *Monatsschrift*, VI (1857), 359-64, Frankel had published (in German translation) the three messages of congratulation addressed to George Washington in 1790 by the "Hebrew Congregation" in Savannah, Ga.; the one in Newport, R. I.; and a joint message from the congregations in Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, S. C., and Richmond, Va. He also published Washington's reply to these congregations.

<sup>28</sup> Solomon Grayzel, "Graetz's History in America," *Historia Judaica*, III (1941), 53-66; the quotation is taken from pp. 62 f.



This edition, too, has undergone several reprintings. The same edition has also been translated into Yiddish and has had a fairly wide circulation in this form. Nor is this all; every text-book written during the past fifty years has openly, or silently though quite as obviously, based itself on Graetz. It would be difficult indeed to find a university thesis or any other volume, by Jew or Gentile, dealing with the Jews, wherein the name of Graetz does not appear in the footnotes or the bibliography.

The volumes of Graetz, sometimes the original German but usually the American edition, have served as an inexhaustible mine for articles in Jewish dailies or weeklies. The sermons of the hundreds of American rabbis have not infrequently derived their meat and substance, and sometimes even their attitudes and eloquence, from the English translation. . . . The fact remains indisputable that an entire generation of American Jews has been brought up on Graetz's historical teaching and that Graetz's ideas have become current intellectual coin.

Graetz's warm-hearted treatment of and his pride in the Jewish scholars of the past has certainly coincided with the efforts to revive Jewish culture on American soil, and may, in part, have been a stimulus to these efforts. . . . The sense of optimism which pervades his work and his faith in the future of the Jewish people have been a source of perennial encouragement. Graetz has undoubtedly been a builder of American Israel.

On Graetz's personal contacts with American Jewry during his lifetime very little has come to light. For this reason, a personal letter written in English by the historian in 1890 and addressed to an otherwise unknown officer of an unnamed society in Dallas that had conferred honorary membership on Graetz may be of some interest.<sup>29</sup> It may possibly even lead to the discovery of other Graetz letters to America which have remained hidden until now.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Autograph letter in the author's collection of Jewish autographs, Appendix IV. A facsimile reproduction appeared in *Historia Judaica*, III (1941), facing p. 54.

<sup>30</sup> There is, however, reason to doubt that other such letters are extant, if more were written at all. None are found in the Felsenthal collection, or in the American Jewish Archives, or in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America Library. Prior to 1891 there were very few correspondents in America who could possibly have exchanged letters with Graetz.

Moritz Steinschneider, "father of Jewish bibliography," the fiftieth anniversary of whose death was commemorated in 1957, had, among other students who later came to America, one who continued his work in our country and earned for himself the name of the "American Steinschneider": Alexander Marx. Marx devoted a number of publications to his revered teacher, and from these Steinschneider's importance for Jewish bibliography in America can be sensed. Although this particular topic has not been treated specifically,<sup>31</sup> the renowned bibliographer nevertheless left his mark on American Jewish scholarship, through his writings as well as his pupils. Moreover, his private library, his literary apparatus, and his unpublished manuscripts and correspondence form one of the most treasured collections in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. It seems that Steinschneider was the only one among the European scholars mentioned whose work found recognition in the form of academic degrees bestowed on him *honoris causa* by American institutions of higher learning (Hebrew Union College and Columbia University).<sup>32</sup>

In his correspondence with Rabbi Felsenthal in Chicago, Steinschneider's interest in the progress of American Jewish scholarship can be detected long before Jewish bibliography was fostered in the United States by his own students. As early as February 5, 1883, he asked for an announcement in an American journal calling on Jewish authors to send him copies of their published works for review in his journal of Jewish bibliography, *Hamazkir*.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Marx, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, pp. 346 f., note 1, with bibliography.

<sup>32</sup> Guido Kisch, *In Search of Freedom*, pp. 81 f.

<sup>33</sup> Letter (post card) of February 5, 1883, in the Felsenthal collection, Appendix V; cf. Kober, *PAJHS*, XLV (1955), p. 127, where, however, this interesting passage was omitted.

Another letter, dated one year later, contains news of the discontinuance of *Hamazkir* and information on its editor's plans for its resumption. "Since number 126 no issue of *Hamazkir* has been published. If I should continue it in 1885, it will *not* be printed by Benzian [the publisher], who has systematically *verschlemilt* [neglected] it."<sup>34</sup> The same letter speaks of the imminent death of Steinschneider's son Albert, "whom you [Felsenthal] saw in Cleveland." Other letters extant in the aforementioned correspondence of Steinschneider might possibly yield additional information of historical interest for American Jewish scholarship.

"The history of thought, of learning, and of the various sciences is usually conceived in terms of the ideas and contributions of outstanding individuals, and those who are eager to relate these contributions to some more general factors, are inclined to stress the impact of an individual's nationality, his real or imagined class status, the 'spirit of the time,' or the 'social situation,' whatever that may mean."<sup>35</sup> Such considerations, with appropriate modification, may certainly be applicable to Jewish *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* also. That in many instances they may be fruitfully supplemented by a study of certain more modest and prosaic, and therefore not decisive, factors may well be demonstrated by the above exposition.

<sup>34</sup> Letter (post card) of August 5, 1884, in the Felsenthal collection, Appendix VI. No. 126 of *המזכיר*, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, XXI, dated November-December, 1881-82, was issued in March, 1883 ("ausgegeben März 1883"). No further issues were published by Steinschneider.

<sup>35</sup> Paul O. Kristeller, "The University of Bologna and the Renaissance," *Studi e Memorie per la Storia dell' Università di Bologna*, New Series, I (Bologna, 1956), 313.

## Appendix I\*

*Anonymous letter (by Zunz) to the Editor of Israels Herold.*

Berlin, den 30. April 1849.

Sie verlangen von mir Berichte über jüdische Zustände in einer Zeit, wo Niemand Jude ist, und Niemand Christ, wo vielleicht die Juden mehr Sympathie für den Papst Pius IX. fühlen, der nun mit Hilfe der Franzosen auf fast ganz friedliche Weise in Rom einzieht und Amnestie gibt, als mancher Katholik, und mancher Christ ein wärmerer Verehrer der Juden Jacobi, als seiner Heiligen ist! Wo unsere Brüder in Ungarn das Tornister statt das Zidakel umhängen, und selbst Bremens Mauern nicht darüber zusammenstürzen, dass Juden in ihrer Mitte aufgenommen werden und Bürger sind!?

Wer kümmert sich zum Beispiel jetzt darum, wenn die reiche Gemeinde Berlins aus elender Knickerei einem alten, um die Wissenschaft hochverdienten Manne, der Israels Zier ist und auf den es stolz sein darf, wenn es einem Zunz den kleinen Jahresgehalt entzieht und der Noth preisgibt, wenn es nicht hochherzige Freunde gäbe, die solche Schmach gern aus ihren eigenen Mitteln tilgen? Berlin wird weiter belagert, wieder wird eine vom Volk erwählte zweite Kammer aufgelöst, wieder fallen dem Moloch-Königsthum einige Menschenopfer, mit Blut wird ja der Purpur aufgefrischt. In Schleswig kämpft man fort ob deutsch, ob dänisch; indess Deutschland selbst um einen König bittet. Der König von Preussen hat die Krone definitiv ausgeschlagen.

Ueber das tapfere Ungar-Volk erhalten Sie gewiss von Wien bessere Nachrichten, da Sie aber dieses durch Herrn D's. Güte früher als die Post erhalten dürften, will ich Ihnen mittheilen, dass ich aus zuverlässiger Quelle weiss, es werden an 100,000 Russen in Siebenbürgen und durch Galizien über die Karpaten einrücken und Radetzky soll mit einem Theil seiner Armee durch Steyermark herbeieilen, nachdem der Frieden in Italien zu weit herabgestimmten

\* The footnotes to sections I to III contain information as to where the originals of the following letters may be found, or, if originals have not been preserved, the journals in which the letters were published.

These letters are exact copies; even the antiquated orthography of the originals has been preserved.

Forderungen (von 213 Millionen zu 80 Millionen Franken) abgeschlossen ist. Auf diese Weise dürfte das tapfere Magyaren Volk trotz aller Opfer und Anstrengung, trotz ihren wahren Heldenkämpfen und neuen glänzenden Siegen endlich erliegen müssen. Bei so bewegtem politischen Leben, wozu noch wichtige Handelsnachrichten kommen, da das bedeutende Steigen der Seide-, das Fallen der Getreide-Preise und die allgemeine Geschäftsstockung und Geldnoth; bei dem Allem wollen Sie noch Nachrichten das Judenthum betreffend?! Entschuldigen Sie, ich kann damit nicht dienen, doch will ich Ihnen die Zeitung des Judenthums und den Orient nächstens per Steamer senden; hier werden sie ohnedem wenig gelesen.

Ihr etc.

## Appendix II

*Rabbis Bernhard Felsenthal, Kaufmann Kohler, Liebmann Adler, and Mr. Julius Rosenthal, all of Chicago, to Leopold Zunz.*

Chicago, Ill., 20. Juli 1874.

Herrn Dr. L. Zunz in Berlin.

Hochgeehrter Herr!

Veranlasst durch Ihren bevorstehenden 80. Geburtstag (am 10. Aug. 1874) möchten die erg[ebenst] U[nterzeichneten], wenn auch durch ein schwaches Wort bloss, Ihnen hiermit die herzlichsten Glückwünsche darbringen, und Ihnen dadurch ein Zeugniss ablegen, dass auch in gar weit entlegenen Gegenden der Erde Leute leben, die sich dankbar als Ihre Schüler erkennen und bekennen.

Inniger Dank sei dem allgütigen Gott, der Sie uns so lange geistig rüstig erhalten hat, und der Ihnen die Kraft verliehen, auch im hohen Greisenalter noch die "Wissenschaft des Judenthums" zu pflegen, ihren Inhalt zu vertiefen und zu berichtigen, ihre Gränzen zu erweitern und auszudehnen. Möge Er, der Allvater, Sie noch recht lange uns erhalten, und es Ihnen ermöglichen, noch viele, viele Beiträge zur Weiterführung der jüd[ischen] Wissenschaft zu liefern!

Mit der vollsten subjectivsten Hingebung und mit der lautersten Objectivität in der Behandlung Ihrer Untersuchungen haben Sie,

hochgeehrter Herr, seit mehr denn einem halben Jahrhundert auf Ihrem Spezialgebiet erfolgreich gearbeitet. Sie haben gleichgesinnten Mitstrebenden sowohl wie nachgebornen Jüngern den Weg und das Ziel gezeigt, und sich als Bahnbrecher in früher unbetretenen Gebieten und als Herrscher in denselben einen Namen erworben, der noch in späten Jahrhunderten mit Ehre und Dank genannt werden wird.

Sie haben bereits vor 56 Jahren (1818) "Etwas über die rabb[inische] Literatur" vielversprechend veröffentlicht; haben 1823 durch Ihre "Zeitschrift" den Grund gelegt zur "Wissenschaft des Judenthums"; 1832 durch Ihr klass[isches] Werk über "Die gottesd[ienstlichen] Vorträge der Juden" Ordnung und Licht in ein bis dahin wirres Chaos gebracht; 1837 durch Ihre "Namen der Juden" Ihrem eigenen Namen neuen Anspruch verliehen darauf, dass sein Träger in Tüchtigkeit und Gründlichkeit seiner Forschungen in erster Reihe stehe; Sie haben ferner 1845 durch Ihre Schrift "Zur Geschichte und Literatur" das Wissen um jüdische Dinge ganz bedeutend geklärt und gemehrt; 1855 durch Ihre "Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters," 1859 durch Ihre "Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes," 1865 durch Ihre "Literaturgeschichte der synag[ogalen] Poesie" die Kunde und die Erkenntniss der relig[iösen] Poesie Israels fast bis zur Vollendung geführt; und haben noch vor 2 Jahren (1872) durch ein nach den "Monatstagen des Kalenderjahres" geordnetes Verzeichniss von Sterbetagen einen neuen Beweis geliefert von dem unermüdlichen Sammlerfleisse, dem ordnenden Sinne, und der allseitigen Gründlichkeit, die Sie in Ihrer ganzen langen literar[ischen] Laufbahn ausgezeichnet haben. Sie haben ferner seit vielen Jahrzehnten in verschiedenen Zeitschriften zerstreute Abhandlungen den wissensdurstigen Jüngern dargeboten, die ganz entschieden bleibendes Interesse haben, wie ja jüngst noch in der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl[ändischen] Gesellschaft, u. s. w.

Und wir, Ihre dankbaren Schüler, die wir geschöpft aus Ihrem Wissensborne, die wir uns so oft gelabt an der geistigen Nahrung, die Sie uns bereitet, — wir sollten den Tag gleichgültig und gedankenlos vorüber gehen lassen, an dem Sie vor 80 Jahren das Licht der Welt erblickten? —

Nein, das können, das wollen wir nicht. Wir folgen bloss dem Drange unserer Herzen, wenn wir Ihnen, hochverehrter Lehrer und Meister, bei dieser Gelegenheit ein Wort der Anerkennung und der Dankbarkeit aussprechen, und wenn wir in Verbindung damit wiederholt dem innig empfundenen Wunsche Ausdruck leihen, dass es Ihnen noch eine lange Reihe von Jahren vergönnt sein möge,

frisch, rüstig, und an Ergebnissen reich das Feld der jüdischen Wissenschaft weiter anzubauen.

In Hochachtung und Ergebenheit verharren, hochgeehrter Herr Doctor,

Ihre allezeit dankbaren

B. FELSENTHAL

K. KOHLER

LIEBMANN ADLER

JULIUS ROSENTHAL

### Appendix III

*Leopold Zunz to Rabbis Felsenthal, Kohler, Adler, and Mr. Rosenthal, all of Chicago.*

An die Herren Dr. Felsenthal, Kohler, Adler,  
Rosenthal in Chicago.

Sehr geehrte Herren!

Ihre Glückwünsche zum 10. August haben mich erfreut, aber Ihre übertriebenen Lobpreisungen mich beschämt; wie soll man von den Helden der Literatur, der Astronomie, der Dichtkunst, wie überhaupt von denen reden, die mit Thaten und Schriften der Menschheit führend und leuchtend vorangeschritten, wenn ein so kleines Licht so gepriesen und geschmeichelt wird? Und grade jetzt fühle ich Staub meine Ohnmacht; acht Tage nach dem Eingange Ihres Schreibens starb in meinen Armen meine geliebte Frau, mit der ich 52 Jahre und 100 Tage in glücklicher Ehe gelebt: mein Stolz und meine Liebe sanken in das Grab und hinterliessen mir nur Thränen. Wenn mir im Leben Ehre und Beifall zu Theil geworden, hat es mich mehr um meiner seligen Frau als um meinetwillen erfreut; ach, das ist nun alles auf immer dahin! In mein Buch "Die Sterbetage" muss nun für den 18. August auch der Name meiner Adelheid eingedrückt werden.

Sie sehen, meine Herren, dass ich jetzt wenig geschickt zu einer belehrenden oder unterhaltenden Correspondenz bin; von einer

einzig Empfindung in Besitz genommen, sträubt sich das Gemüth gegen den freien Gebrauch seiner Kräfte. Daher wird es gerathen seyn, diese Klage-Schrift zu beendigen, und indem ich nochmals für Ihre liebenswerthe Freundlichkeit meinen Dank ausspreche, füge ich noch den Wunsch hinzu, dass Sie und die Ihnen nahe stehen gesund und glücklich bleiben. עד מאד שנים

Hochachtungsvoll und ergebenst

Zunz

Berlin, 24. August 1874  
Auguststrasse 60

## Appendix IV

*Heinrich Graetz to Mr. Ben W. Austin, Dallas.*

Breslau 28 Febr. 1890

Dear Sir,

I beg to express my deepest gratitude for the honour your Society has bestowed on me, electing me their honorary member. According to your wish, I send my portrait. Now you would not have any use of my literary works, as all of them are written in German. I shall take the honour to send the english translation of my "History of the Jews," as soon as it will be completely finished.

Very thankfully  
Yours

Prof. DR. H. GRAETZ

Mr. Ben W.  
Austin  
Dallas



## Appendix V

*Moritz Steinschneider to Bernhard Felsenthal.*

Rosenstr. 2.  
Berlin 5. II. [18]83

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Von der *H[ebräischen] B[ibliographie]* ist N. 125 im December erschienen, N. 126 soll in 8 Tagen erscheinen, für die Regelmässigkeit bemühe ich mich vergebens durch meine pünktliche Arbeit — obwohl ich jetzt mit einer grossen Arbeit über die hebr[äischen] Übersetzungen des Mittelalters beschäftigt bin, was aber *unter uns* bleibt. In folge dessen ist auch das Supplem[ent] zu Benjacob nur bis Ende Buchst[aben] *נ* redigiert. Auf Manuscripte nehme ich natürlich Rücksicht; ich hatte Benjacob gerathen, Manuscripte überhaupt nicht aufzunehmen, da ihm selbst die wichtigsten Catal[oge] nicht zugänglich waren. Schriften *nach* 1862 sind ausgeschlossen (mit wenigen Ausnahmen). *השקל מ' קטל* liest auch mein Catalog. — Jüd[ische] Typogr[aphie] in Ersch und Gr[uber] ist in der III. Section des Catal. Bodl. vollständig umgearbeitet. Ich würde meine Vorlesungen über jüd[ische] Handschriftenkunde und manches Andere herausgeben, wenn ich Zuhörer hätte, die Zeit und Lust haben zu helfen. Ich leite eine Schule von 350 Schülerinnen und unterrichte täglich 2 Vormittagsstunden, bin auch bald 67 Jahre alt. — Durch Mittheilungen über amerikan[ische] Schriften, welche bisher nicht im *המזכיר* vorkamen, werden Sie verbinden Ihren

erg[eben]

M. STEINSCHNEIDER

Möchten Sie vielleicht in einem amerik[anischen] Blatte Autoren veranlassen, mir Recens[ions]- Exemplare zu schicken.

Herrn Dr. Felsenthal  
in Chicago, Ill.  
237 S. Desplaines St.

## Appendix VI

*Moritz Steinschneider to Bernhard Felsenthal.*

Rosenstrasse 2. 5. VIII. [18]84.

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Ich werde nicht verfehlen, Ihre Gratulation an Zunz am 10. persönlich zu übergeben. Ich hätte schon längst Ihr freundl[iches Schreiben] vom 29. VI. beantwortet, wenn nicht amtliche u[nd] persönliche Rücksichten meinen schriftlichen Verkehr gehemmt hätten, unter Anderm muss ich täglich einer Trauerbotschaft entgegensehen. Mein Sohn Albert, den Sie in Cleveland gesehen habe[n], leidet an unheilbarer Schwindsucht, er ist augenblicklich in der Wasserheilanstalt meines Vetters Dr. Alois Brecher in Eichwald. Gott behüte Sie u[nd] die Ihren vor Trübsal! — Seit n. 126 ist von המזכיר nichts erschienen, und wenn ich ihn 1885 wieder fortsetzen sollte, so wird er *nicht* bei Benzian erscheinen, der ihn systematisch verschlemilt hat. Ich habe Ihnen für verschiedene Zusendungen zu danken, die ich seiner Zeit benutzen werde. Augenblicklich bin ich mit einer grösseren Arbeit beschäftigt, die bis December fertig sein muss und mich von *allem* Anderen abzieht. *Ihnen* zu antworten rechne ich mir zur Pflicht, und zeichne in aufrichtiger Gewogenheit und Hochachtung

M. STEINSCHNEIDER

An Dr. B. Felsenthal  
in Chicago  
237 South Desplaines Street  
Amerika.

# Some Conclusions About Rebecca Gratz

JOSEPH R. ROSENBLOOM

REBECCA GRATZ remains one of the distinguished personages of American Jewish history. She was well-known and respected in her generation and, even today, stands out as a figure of some importance among American Jewish women. In spite of her rather high contemporary evaluation, Rebecca Gratz was not a great woman. This conclusion is based on an intensive study of her correspondence, of which some fifteen hundred letters are extant, as well as on other contemporary sources, including congregational and organizational records. Her position in her home community of Philadelphia and in American Judaism at large is firmly based on fact, while her popular position is founded, for the most part, on the unverified and probably unverifiable allegation that she was the prototype of Sir Walter Scott's Rebecca, the Jewish heroine of *Ivanhoe*. She was not a great person, for her accomplishments were significant neither in the realm of ideas nor in the realm of social innovation. Her importance rests on two facts: she

Dr. Joseph R. Rosenbloom is the spiritual leader of Congregation Adath Israel, Lexington, Ky.

This essay epitomizes the author's doctoral dissertation, "And She Had Compassion: The Life and Times of Rebecca Gratz," written in January, 1957, under Dr. Jacob R. Marcus at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. The original dissertation was based on a study of Rebecca Gratz's manuscript letters, both published and unpublished, found in the following depositories: The American Jewish Historical Society, The Library of Congress, the Library of the University of North Carolina, the New York Historical Society, and the Henry Joseph Collection at the American Jewish Archives.

introduced into her particular religious group needed institutions which had previously been established in the general community; and, as current research attests, she stood practically alone as an American Jewish woman of prominence in her century.

\*       \*       \*

Miss Gratz was a native-born daughter of one of American Jewry's most prominent families. The Gratzes had been well-known and prosperous merchants and landholders in eighteenth-century America. Rebecca's father, Michael, and her uncle, Barnard Gratz, were among the founders of Philadelphia's first synagogue, Mikveh Israel. Her brothers were active in the political, cultural, and economic affairs of that city over a period of many decades. If, as a family, they did not attain greatness, they did represent Jews who were well integrated into, and accepted by, the most socially prominent elements of the Philadelphia community. The Gratzes became a symbol of gentility and acceptability for American Jewry. Rebecca Gratz, the only outstanding woman of her family, became the feminine symbol, not only for the Gratz family and for Philadelphia Jewry, but for all American Jewry during her lifetime. Her fame resulted, to a considerable extent, from the absence of others to fill the rôle which she assumed — a rôle which had to be filled by a lesser personage, since a greater one did not live or had not yet been discovered. The wealth of material concerning Rebecca Gratz has made her easily "discoverable."

Miss Gratz's prime interest, throughout her lifetime, was her immediate family. To a lesser degree, she was concerned with her home community. She evinced little interest in the greater issues of her time except as they affected her family. She was born at the very beginning of the national period of the United States, and her span of years included the Civil

War, the greatest crisis through which America had yet passed. While no person is an island unto himself, Rebecca Gratz managed, from all appearances, to remain quite removed from most of the vital international and national events of her day.

During the eighty-eight years of her lifetime (1781-1869), Europe experienced the French Revolution, the rise and fall of Napoleon, and the struggle between liberalism and reaction. Rebecca Gratz was only a child of eight when the Bastille fell. Still, it is noteworthy that the climactic events of the French Revolution found no mention in her letters. Nor was there a word about Napoleon Bonaparte, although she did speak of the Bonapartes, Joseph and his family, who resided briefly in Philadelphia after Napoleon's fall. Nothing, moreover, in her letters reflects the furor caused in 1850 by America's commercial treaty with a Switzerland which refused to exempt American Jews from the anti-Jewish restrictions prevalent at the time in the Swiss cantons. There was, furthermore, in her letters no echo of the notorious Mortara affair of 1858, an affair in which Edgar Mortara, a Jewish child of Bologna, Italy, was abducted and baptized with the approval of papal authorities.

Rebecca Gratz's lifetime also covered a period of tremendous national growth and development in America. The country spread, during those years, from the East coast to the West, and from Canada to Mexico. The American population increased from 4,000,000 to almost 50,000,000; the Republic was involved in three major wars: the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. Other issues of wide-reaching significance were raised at this time: territorial rights; new states and slavery; the development, growth, and decline of many great national political parties, such as the disappearance of the Federalists, the decline of the Whigs, the growth of the Democratic party, the rise of the Republican party and of the American (or "Know Nothing") party; the troubles on the

Barbary coast; the great growth in industry and commerce; and the abolitionist movement.

While Rebecca Gratz was surely affected by these developments, her anxiety over them was peripheral and superficial, limited to their immediate effect upon her family, friends, and community. This was exemplified, on the national scene, by her concern over the affairs of Henry Clay who, as a rather close friend of Benjamin, her brother in Lexington, Kentucky, appeared frequently in her correspondence. In contrast, one looks in vain for any mention of Abraham Lincoln in the same correspondence. Neither the abolitionist movement nor the battle for women's rights attracted her attention to any significant degree. Miss Gratz's lack of involvement in most of the vital interests and developments of her time deprived her of any imposing historical importance.

On rare occasions, she did succeed, to be sure, in transcending the parochial limits which her life and character had imposed on her. Such an occasion was the anti-Catholic rioting in Philadelphia in 1844, rioting in which dozens of people were killed or maimed. Miss Gratz wrote at that time to her brother Benjamin in Lexington, Kentucky, that

the present outbreak is an attack on the Catholic Church, and there is so much violent animosity between that sect and the Protestants that unless the strong arm of power is raised to sustain the provisions of the Constitution of the U. S., securing to every citizen the privilege of worshipping God according to his own conscience, America will be no longer the happy asylum of the oppressed and the secure dwelling place of religion. Intolerance has been too prevalent of late, and many of the clergy of different denominations are chargeable with its growth. The whole spirit and office of religion is to make men merciful and humble and just. If such teaching was preached by the pastors to their own congregations and the charge of others left to their own clergy, God would be better served and human society governed more in accordance to *His* holy commandments.

Such eloquence on her part was, however, as we have said, exceedingly rare.

It was her rôle in the Jewish community of Philadelphia — a rôle which, of course, affected many other American Jews — that gave Rebecca Gratz the importance that she had. She merits mention in general American history only by virtue of her position as one of the few outstanding Jewesses whom this country had produced. Her historical importance, therefore, must be recognized in relative, rather than in absolute, terms.

To what do we owe Rebecca Gratz's impressive and significant rôle, even in this limited sense? Her significance emanated from two facets of her life: her social position in the Jewish and non-Jewish communities, and her accomplishments, which had their most direct effect on the Jewish community of her city. The social life of the Jewish community of Philadelphia in the early decades of Miss Gratz's life centered chiefly about one institution — the Sephardic synagogue, Mikveh Israel. Here the Gratz family's involvement was almost as old as the congregation itself, and here the Gratzes enjoyed great prominence. Rebecca's father and uncle, Michael and Barnard, served as officers as well as members of the congregation's Board. Her brother, Simon, was a member of the Board as early as 1810, and another brother, Hyman, held an official position in the congregation for more than forty years. The Gratzes' activity in the affairs of the synagogue, together with their relative economic well-being and their relationship with the non-Jewish community, assured them social prominence among their coreligionists.

Rebecca Gratz's status and the range of her contacts in the non-Jewish community were also impressive. They included every phase of Philadelphia's most distinguished society. Her activity in this realm depended, to a large degree, on her

brothers, themselves active in both cultural and political circles. Joseph Gratz was particularly interested in politics. Jacob Gratz was one of the first directors of the Philadelphia Athenaeum, founded in 1814, and delivered the first report to its Board of Directors. Among its other founders were such outstanding Philadelphia leaders as William Tilghman, Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court; James Mease, the famous physician; Thomas I. Wharton, a noted lawyer and author; and Nicholas Biddle, later the president of the Bank of the United States and Andrew Jackson's *bête noire*. Hyman and Simon Gratz were among the earliest subscribers to the Academy of Fine Arts. An early list containing their names includes also those of Thomas Jefferson and another Revolutionary political leader, Francis Hopkinson. Hyman was director of the Academy from 1836 to 1857, its treasurer from 1841 to 1857, and, finally, its president. By means of such associations Rebecca Gratz was enabled to play a notable part in community affairs. She participated, for example, in the fund-raising program for the rebuilding of the Fine Arts Academy, which had been destroyed by fire. Her associates in this work included Mrs. George Mifflin Dallas, whose husband was a Vice President of the United States, a United States Senator, and a mayor of Philadelphia. She was friendly also with Mrs. Henry Dilwood Gilpin, whose husband served as a United States Attorney General. Another close friend was Mrs. William Meredith, wife of a prominent lawyer and bank president.

Early in her life, Rebecca Gratz's activities in charitable institutions brought her into contact with other outstanding Philadelphia families. In her twenties, she was already interested in Philadelphia's Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced Circumstances and in the Orphan Society, or Asylum. With her on the Board of the Female Association were eight other Jewish women, and she served as



secretary of this organization for a time. Far more energy was expended by her on the Orphan Society, a group associated with one of the most fashionable and influential churches of Philadelphia, the Second Presbyterian. Rebecca Gratz served as a Board member of the Orphan Society from its inception in 1814, and was its secretary from 1819 until her death in 1869.

Miss Gratz's work with important Philadelphia charities also brought her into contact with a number of distinguished personages: Mrs. John Sergeant, whose husband was a leading Philadelphia lawyer and a congressman; the family of Prince Achille Murat; Dr. John Syng Dorsey, a prominent physician; Dr. James Rush, author and physician; and the prominent Unitarian clergyman, the Reverend William Henry Furness. Particularly in her youth, Miss Gratz maintained many close and cherished friendships with literary figures. Her closest friend in her late teens and early twenties was Maria Fenno, daughter of John Fenno, a prominent newspaper publisher. The two girls enjoyed the company of such promising *literati* as Washington Irving; Joseph Dennie, the first editor of *The Port Folio*; Samuel Ewing; John E. Hall; Gouverneur Kemble; James K. Paulding; Henry Brevoort; Thomas I. Wharton; and Joseph Hopkinson. From these friendships developed several of the most interesting, if exaggerated, aspects of the Rebecca Gratz story. Samuel Ewing, who quite seriously entertained literary ambitions, but ultimately became a fairly successful attorney, is generally and frequently identified as the object of Rebecca Gratz's only romance, a romance which was presumedly thwarted by their religious differences. While there is no indication of a close relationship with any man other than Ewing, there is very little evidence to support the supposed intensity of their relationship. We have no proof that they were in love, and we find no intimation of Rebecca's having rejected Ewing —

or having had the occasion to reject him — on any grounds at all, religious or otherwise.

Washington Irving is the central figure in the oft-repeated legend that Rebecca Gratz was the prototype of Sir Walter Scott's Rebecca of York, the beautiful Jewess in his novel, *Ivanhoe*. While this identification was made by friends of Rebecca Gratz at the time of the publication of the book, there is, again, nothing to substantiate such a claim. The tradition that the fictional Rebecca of York is to be identified with the historical Rebecca of Philadelphia arose from the friendship between Irving and Scott. Washington Irving met with Scott in 1818. It is assumed that, at this time, Scott was planning *Ivanhoe*. When, as the legend would have it, Irving told him about Rebecca Gratz and her romance with Samuel Ewing, a non-Jew, Scott made a central figure of the Jewess, based her on Miss Gratz, and incorporated her into his book. We find, however, nothing in the letters of Miss Gratz and nothing in the writings of either Scott or Irving to lend any truth to this legend. Yet it is for this reason that Rebecca Gratz is best known.

It was through Rebecca Gratz that Thomas Sully, a contemporary artist, was introduced to Philadelphia, at the request of Washington Irving, their mutual friend. Miss Gratz's friendship with Sully extended over several decades, and in 1834 Miss Gratz sought to aid Sully's son to find employment as a portrait painter in Kentucky.

Miss Gratz's social circle was among the finest in Philadelphia. Her associates had respect and appreciation for her, and accepted her as a Jewess who was proud of her heritage. On occasion, her hostesses would take special pains to serve food which was in keeping with the Jewish dietary laws. Such a social position in the non-Jewish community served to maintain her stature among her Jewish friends. This station tended also to ease the integration of other Jews into Philadelphia society, Rebecca

Gratz having presented a fine and dignified example of the cultured Jewess.

Miss Gratz's communal efforts were, for the most part, concentrated in the Jewish community. A major exception was her devoted service to the Orphan Society. Her efforts in communal activities, particularly among Jews, increased as she grew older and withdrew more and more from the social life of her city. Within the Jewish community, she was the leading force in a whole series of communal enterprises. Here she served as the motivator and rallying point about which a necessary organization could come into being. Through her efforts directly, and through others, the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Jewish Foster Home, the Hebrew Sunday School, and the Sewing and Fuel Societies were initiated, filling hitherto unattended needs of the Jewish community. To each of these institutions she brought extensive prior experience. We may be sure that these organizations met much resistance, as people in those days were loath to spend money for social-welfare purposes. It was only after seven years of urging that the Jewish Foster Home came into being. When it was finally established in 1855, Rebecca Gratz at seventy-four was still considered vigorous enough to be offered the position of its First Directress. This she declined, accepting that of Second Directress.

Through the efforts of Rebecca Gratz, the Jewish community not only became aware of its communal responsibilities, but also actually strove to fulfill them. Philadelphia's growth presented many problems, due particularly to the ever-increasing immigrant population. The Quakers had long ago set an excellent pattern of communal responsibility, a model which was to guide many other religious groups. The relation of the Jewish Foster Home to the Orphan Society is as readily apparent as that of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society to the Female Association for the Relief of Women and Children in Reduced

Circumstances, an organization in which Rebecca Gratz was also active, as we have noted. It is apparent, therefore, that her contribution as an innovator was limited. She put into practice in the Jewish community those patterns which were already in operation in the general community — endeavors in which she had taken a considerable and significant part. Her own major contribution was her ability to extend to Jewish communal needs her notable leadership and almost endless energy and resourcefulness. This was true, too, of her accomplishment in establishing a Sunday School for the Jewish children of Philadelphia.

The Sunday School movement had been initiated in the non-Jewish community to educate poor working-class children who had no other opportunity for general educational and religious training. Somewhat later, the movement changed its emphasis and sought to combat the secularizing tendency of the day schools as they came more and more under public control. The establishment of a Jewish Sunday School was undertaken in 1838 by Rebecca Gratz because no one else in Philadelphia was adequately fulfilling the religious needs of Jewish children, Isaac Leeser's attempt in 1835 to establish a Jewish day school having proved too ambitious for success. Moreover, a school conducted for two or three hours every Sunday was more in consonance with the prevalent non-Jewish pattern of religious education. Other similarities between Miss Gratz's Sunday School and the non-Jewish Sunday schools were apparent in that both provided for children on a community-wide basis, without cost to the children or to their families and without denominational affiliation. In time, to be sure, the Christian Sunday schools became affiliated with denominations, or were established by denominations, but the school founded by Rebecca Gratz remained open to any Jewish child in the city and never limited its enrollment to the children of a particular Jewish congregation.

While the Christian Sunday School movement is generally acknowledged as having originated in England, its center for many years in the United States was Philadelphia. Rebecca Gratz was quite frank about her dependence upon the Christian Sunday school pattern and, for a time, when no Jewish textbooks were available, she was forced to use at least one of the Christian Sunday school textbooks. In the area of education, as in other areas, she perceived a serious need in the Jewish community, and she set out to fill it. The established congregations were not providing for the education of their children, nor for those whose parents could afford neither congregational affiliation nor private tutors. In 1818, her first attempt, its nature hazy and its basis limited, proved to be abortive. Only one of her letters referring to the school is extant. She did succeed, however, twenty years later. It is interesting to note her advanced age at the time when she undertook the responsibility of this new and exacting venture. Not only was she instrumental in establishing and directing this school for many years, but she also stimulated the production of textbooks for Jewish children. Her efforts led directly to the establishment of similar schools in Charleston, Savannah, New York, and, probably, Richmond.

Religion in general and Judaism in particular constituted an intimate part of Rebecca Gratz's daily existence. Association with the synagogue was a deeply ingrained trait of her family, a family which had been instrumental in establishing and sustaining Congregation Mikveh Israel in its formative years. Miss Gratz followed the traditional interpretation of Judaism. She observed the dietary laws not only at home, but also when dining with others, and her Gentile friends, out of respect to this lady, served foods which would not be offensive to her. She was punctilious in the observance of the Jewish holidays, and looked forward with joy to those occasions on which the members of her family might come together. The Sabbath,

too, was observed traditionally, and Rebecca Gratz refrained from writing and engaging in many other activities.

The extensive correspondence with her Christian sister-in-law, Maria Gist Gratz, Benjamin's first wife, illustrates Rebecca Gratz's deep appreciation for other religions. She was quite liberal in her approach to Christianity, although she would countenance no weakening of traditional Judaism. The slackening observance of Jewish practices in her day distressed her, as did the development of "unorthodox" Jewish practices at Charleston's Congregation Beth Elohim in 1824. As understanding as she was of the diversity of religious expression in America, she, nevertheless, vigorously opposed attempts at converting Jews to Christianity. Frequently she noted occasions when persons tried to convert her. Her response was a pride in her own religion and, not infrequently, a contempt for persons who sought to convert others.

Part of Rebecca Gratz's fervor and devotion for Judaism is seen in her intense opposition to intermarriage. When Benjamin, her youngest brother, announced his intention to marry Maria Gist, of Lexington, Kentucky, Rebecca made known in definite terms her opposition to the match, because of the couple's religious differences. She felt that such a dissimilarity between mates might offend one or both partners, that it demanded too great a sacrifice from the partner who felt obliged to abandon or de-emphasize his or her former religion. She feared, too, the deleterious effect upon the children of such unions. Her views on this subject did not thwart Benjamin Gratz's choice, for both of his wives (he married Ann Boswell after Maria died) were Christians and all his children were reared as Christians, although Benjamin himself never converted to Christianity. Miss Gratz, as we have indicated above, appears finally to have accepted the marriage to Maria Gist and to have cultivated Maria's friendship.

Intermarriage was not foreign to other members of her immediate family. Her mother's sister, Shinah Simon, married Dr. Nicholas Schuyler. Simon Gratz, her eldest brother, also married or at least lived with a Christian woman. His children appear to have been reared as Christians, although Louisa, one of his daughters, embraced Judaism in 1851. Another of his daughters, Mary, was denied burial in the Mikveh Israel cemetery, since she was not considered to have been a practicing Jewess. Throughout her lifetime, Miss Gratz's opposition to intermarriage remained strong. With reference, however, to her brothers' relationships with non-Jewish women, she did have the grace to make the best of a situation about which there was actually nothing she could do.

In matters of theology, too, Rebecca Gratz conformed to the traditional Jewish views. She accepted the concept of immortality as the reward of a loving God. God, for her, was an ever-present force, guiding and comforting those who believed in Him. All things, for her, had their source in God, and her willingness to accept what life brought her made her something of a fatalist. All things happened, she believed, because God willed them — this made acceptance of disappointment and misfortune relatively simple for her.

In general, Rebecca Gratz's thoughts on religion and philosophy contained no great profundities and no solution to any of the traditional or historical philosophical problems. Hers was a homey, rather pedestrian type of investigation into those facts and principles of reality, of human nature and human conduct, which came within the purview of her own personal experience. It was, to an extent, a form of rationalization, as are all expressions of personal philosophy. Her philosophy was sincere, uttered with a deep understanding of other persons and of herself. It seems to have served her well.

\* \* \*

All that has thus far been said in this study confirms the view, expressed above, that this woman was something less than a great personage. Why, then, has Rebecca Gratz held, and why does she continue to hold, so prominent a position in the history of American Jewry? Her accomplishments for Philadelphia Jewry, we must remember, were manifold. She held a symbolic importance for her coreligionists; she stood as a symbol of Jewish integration into the *haut monde* of Philadelphia society. She was instrumental also in the establishment of many worthy and influential agencies of social-service significance. Surely, we must be cognizant of the fact that there have been scores of other such outstanding Jewish women in the century between the Revolution and the Civil War. For none of them, however, have we literally thousands of historical documents recording their lives and accomplishments. Have these documents — her letters and the records of her communal activities — made of Rebecca Gratz a historical personage? To a considerable extent, we would answer, yes. It is also possible that there were indeed few, if any, other Jewesses to equal Rebecca Gratz in stature and achievement. If Rebecca Gratz loomed large in nineteenth-century American Jewry, it must be understood that the Jews in America at this time were a minute group. During the nineteenth century, in general, the rôle of American women in the making of history was circumscribed by law and custom. It is no wonder that Rebecca Gratz loomed as large as she did among her coreligionists. On the other hand, every ethnic and religious group must of necessity have its heroes and heroines. Rebecca Gratz's true achievements, taken together with the traditional view that she was the prototype of Rebecca in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and the fact that she was the daughter of one of Colonial America's most prominent Jewish families, tended to confer on her the rôle of



the heroine of the Jewish people — at least for the earlier part of the Jewish historical experience in America.

Rebecca Gratz's efforts, in any supposed history-making rôles, were confined to adapting established institutions to new situations. The organizations which she inaugurated in Philadelphia were of importance, but were new only in relation to the small group for which she created them. It is here that Rebecca Gratz's historical importance is to be found.

If Miss Gratz's alleged identification with Sir Walter Scott's Jewish heroine could be proved, her historical importance would not be enhanced; if proved, this identification would only adumbrate her popular renown, based as it is primarily on this allegation. It would be interesting; it would not be significant. Her rôle as the creator of Jewish institutions in Philadelphia is of significance, at least to that particular community. The fact that the pattern of some of these institutions was followed elsewhere in the American Jewish scene makes her relatively important to the larger American Jewish group as well.

Viewed in relation to the American Jewish community of her time, and on the basis of available documentation, Rebecca Gratz was the most important Jewess of that period. When, however, she is assessed in absolute terms, in relation to truly great historical personages, she cannot be counted in their ranks. She is of prominence in Jewish circles, when they write of Jews, since so few others of any real stature are known to have lived and worked during her lifetime.

Rebecca Gratz was an outstanding woman in a limited area. If she was charming in some ways, she was prosaic in others. Her letters are without humor, and she is generally revealed in them as a rather strait-laced individual. Yet while she was a conformist in most situations, she was, at the same time, a true leader. Her sensitivity, her compassion for others, led her to

work for the reduction of suffering and want among many unfortunates. She knew where her leadership was most needed and how she could be most effective. This ability, together with other factors, gave her great status in her own group as well as in others.

Some outstanding persons are creative thinkers, and others are more proficient in putting established patterns into practice. Few achieve both. Rebecca Gratz had few, if any, original thoughts, but she was sensitive to the needs of others and she knew how to care for them. Through her accomplishments, her social position, and the traditions that developed about her, she has become *the* American Jewess of her time. While her fame is due more to traditions than to achievements, the latter remain truly worthy of admiration and recognition.

# Some Unrecorded American Judaica

## Printed Before 1851

EDWIN WOLF 2ND

WHEN Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach issued his pioneer *American Jewish Bibliography* in 1926, he defined a new field of bibliographical research. He stimulated a continuing interest in early American Judaica. His entries indicated that here were both high points and depth. And his work has proved of inestimable value to the writers of early American Jewish history.

In 1954 Dr. Jacob R. Marcus published a supplement which contained titles unnoticed by Rosenbach, but was limited to books in the Library of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati. In all, 916 titles of "Books and Articles by Jews or Relating to Them Printed in the United States from the Earliest Days to 1850" have been recorded.

The increase of activity in American Jewish historiography, however, has emphasized the inadequacies of both these contributions to the subject, and the need for a full-scale "second edition" has become evident. Both Rosenbach and Marcus devoted much space to books of only peripheral Jewish importance, such as Christian theological works on Old Testament themes, to poems and essays with a biblical, but no essentially Jewish, content, and to comprehensive religious histories where the Jewish interest is limited to biblical history as a prelude to Christianity. They have listed at length successive editions of the

Mr. Edwin Wolf 2nd is the Librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

often-reprinted Josephus and *Merchant of Venice*. On the other hand, they did not record many items which are of more significance and usefulness to researchers, particularly political, scientific, and commercial works by American Jews.

My own additions are not the result of systematic research, but rather the accumulated by-products of work in the field of American Jewish history. They include a few titles which might be considered peripheral, but in most cases these are other editions of works already noted by Rosenbach or Marcus. They do not include articles in newspapers or periodicals which — still unrecorded — occur in great number. I offer these entries merely as a token of still undiscovered riches, as a challenge to one who will plow the field in regular furrows. Contrary to the opinions of a past generation, the source materials for early American Jewish history are far from sparse.

I am greatly in the debt of Dr. Marcus and Maxwell White-man for their help in compiling this list. They have made available to me items of which they had personal knowledge, as well as books, broadsides, and photostats to be found in the American Jewish Archives. But, even more, they have both encouraged me to get this fragmentary addition to Rosenbach and Marcus into print.

BIBLIOGRAPHY\*

1719

1. JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS. The Wars of the Jews. / In Two Books. / With the most Deplorable / History / of the / Seige and Destruction / of the / City of Jerusalem. / And / The Burning of the Temple . . . / . . . / Epitomiz'd from the Works of Flavius / Josephus, Translated into English by Sir / Roger L'Estrange, Knight. / The Fourth Edition. / London Printed: Reprinted at Boston / by S. Kneeland, for B. Eliot, at his / Shop in King-Street. 1719.

24mo, pp. (2), 262. A variant issue of Rosenbach 15. AAS.

1752

2. NATHANS and HART. Price Current. / Halifax, 175 / New England Rum / Leeward Island Do. / . . . / Your Humble Servants, / Nathans and Hart / Halifax: Printed by John Bushell. 1752.

Folio, broadside. Massachusetts Historical Society.

1771

3. OTTOLENGHE, JOSEPH. Directions / for breeding / Silk-Worms, / Extracted from a Letter of / Joseph Ottolenghe, Esq; / Late Superintendent / of the / Public Filature / in Georgia. / Philadelphia: / Printed by Joseph Crukshank, in Third-Street. / M, DCC, LXXI [1771].

8vo, pp. 8. LCP.

\* I have not attempted a census of copies, but merely have indicated the location of the copy used for the description. Librarians in the institutions noted have been most helpful to me, and specially Dr. Bertram W. Korn and Dr. Clarence S. Brigham and Clifford K. Shipton of the American Antiquarian Society. The symbols used are as follows: AAS — American Antiquarian Society; EW2 — Edwin Wolf 2nd; HUC — Hebrew Union College (incl. American Jewish Archives); LCP — Library Company of Philadelphia; and MW — Maxwell Whiteman.

1791

4. JEFFERSON, THOMAS. The Secretary of State, to whom was referred, by the House of Representatives of the United States, / the petition of Jacob Isaacks, of Newport, in Rhode-Island, has examined into the truth and importance of the alle- / gations therein set forth, and makes thereon the following / Report. / . . . / Philadelphia, November 21st, 1791. / Th: Jefferson. / [Philadelphia, 1791.]

4to, broadside. Concerning Isaacs' claim for a reward from the government for having developed a method of extracting salt from sea-water. LCP.

5. [MAGGOWAN, JOSEPH.] The / Life / of / Joseph / The / Son of Israel. / In Eight Books. / Chiefly designed for the use of youth. / Republished from the first London Edition. / Hartford: / Printed by Elisha Babcock. / M, DCC, XCI [1791].

8vo, pp. 147. EW2.

5a. NICODEMUS. Evangelium Nicodemi; / oder / Historischer Bericht / von dem / Leben / Jesu Christi, / welches / Nicodemus, / Ein Rabbi und Oberster der Juden, / beschrieben, / Wie er solches selbst gesehen und erfahren, weil er / ein Nachfolger und heimlicher Jünger Jesu / Christi gewesen: / Auch sind / Viel schöne Stücke und Geschichte / dabey zu finden, / Welche die Evangelisten nicht beschrieben haben; / Nebst einer / Historie von einem Rabbi und Obersten / der Juden, / Welcher öffentlich bekant: / Dass Christus Gottes Sohn sey. / Aus des Herrn Philippi Kegelii Anhang zum Geistlichen / Wegweiser nach dem himmlischen Vaterland, &c. ge- / nommen. / Wie dann auch / Die erschrecklichen Strafen und Plagen / der zwölf Jüdischen Stämme. / Lancäster, / Gedruckt bey Jacob Bailey, in der Königsstrasse, im / Jahr 1791.

12mo, pp. 95. LCP.

1793

6. A Confession of the / Christian Faith, / Which was made at Constantinople, in the Year 1585, by One, who be- / ing complained of as a Great Heretic, gave this Answer and Reason / of his Faith, to some Latin and Greek Christians; as also to se- / veral Jews and

Turks that were present. / . . . / London: printed in the year 1711 —  
New-York: / Re-printed in the Year 1793.

4to, broadside. EW2.

7. NASSY, DAVID DE ISAAC COHEN. Observations / on the / Cause,  
Nature, and Treatment / of the / Epidemic Disorder, / Prevalent in  
Philadelphia. / By D. Nassy, M.D. Member of the American / Philo-  
sophical Society, &c. / (Translated from the French.) / Philadelphia: /  
Printed by Parker & Co. for M. Carey. / Nov. 26, — 1793.

8vo, pp. 26. LCP.

8. ———. Observations / sur la / Cause, la Nature, et le Traite-  
ment / de la / Maladie Epidemique, / qui regne a Philadelphie. /  
Par D. Nassy, Docteur en Medicine, et Membre de / la Société Philo-  
sophique de Philadelphie, &c. / Philadelphie: / Imprimé par Parker &  
Cie. pour M. Carey. / 26 Nov. — 1793.

8vo, pp. 48. With English title as in preceding entry and English  
text on the right hand pages. LCP.

1794

9. [CROUCH, NATHANIEL.] A / Journey / To / Jerusalem. / Contain-  
ing, / The Travels / of / Fourteen Englishmen, / In 1668, / To Jeru-  
salem, Bethlehem, Jericho, the / River Jordan, Lake of Sodom and  
Go- / morrah, / In a Letter from T. B. / To which is added, a  
Description of the / Empire of China. / Poughkeepsie, Dutchess  
County: / Printed and sold by Nicholas Power. 1794.

8vo, pp. 34. AAS.

10. JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS. The / Whole Genuine and Complete / Works /  
of / Flavius Josephus / the Learned and Authentic / Jewish / Histor-  
ian, / and / Celebrated Warrior. / Containing . . . / Also a / Con-  
tinuation / of the / History of the Jews, / . . . / By George Henry  
Maynard, LL. D. / Illustrated with Marginal References and Notes . . . /  
By the Rev. Edward Kimpton, / . . . / New-York: / Printed and Sold  
by William Durell, / No. 208, Pearl-Street, near the Fly-Market. /  
M, DCC, XCIV [1794].

Folio, pp. 723, (3), with 60 engravings. AAS.

1795

11. BRETT, SAMUEL. A / True Relation / of the / Proceedings / of the / Great Council / of the / Jews; / Assembled in the Plains of Ajayday, in / Hungaria, about 30 Leagues distant from / Buda; to examine the Scriptures con- / cerning Christ. / On the 12th of October, 1650. / By Samuel Brett; / (An Englishman) there present. / Printed at Keene — (New-Hampshire,) / For Amos Taylor; / Travelling Book-Seller. / M, DCC, XCV [1795].

12mo, pp. 12. AAS.

1796

12. CAREY, MATHEW, *compiler*. Select Pamphlets: / viz. / 1. Lessons to a Young Prince, by an Old Statesman, / on the present Disposition in Europe to a general Revolution. / 2. Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, / in Consequence of some late Discussions in Parliament. / 3. Address to the House of Representatives of the United States. / 4. Features of Mr. Jay's Treaty. / 5. Short Account of the Malignant Fever, / prevalent in Philadelphia, in the Fall of 1793 — by Mathew Carey. / 6. Dr. Nassy's Account of the Same Fever. / 7. Observations on Dr. Rush's Enquiry into the Origin of / the late Epidemic Fever — by Mathew Carey. / 8. Trial of Mr. Walker, and others, for High Treason. / Philadelphia: Published by Mathew Carey, / No. 118 Market-Street. / 1796. / (Price two dollars.)

8vo. A collection of separate pamphlets of various dates, with the general title as above. The Nassy pamphlet is the 1793 French-English edition. Carey issued other similar collections the same year with different contents. Another one, including the Nassy pamphlet, has exactly the same title as above, except: "8. Revolution of America — By the Abbé Raynal." LCP.

1797

13. COOPER, WILLIAM. The Promised Seed. / A / Sermon / Preached To God's Ancient Israel / The Jews, / at Sion-Chapel. White-Chapel, / On Sunday Afternoon, August 28, 1796. / By William Cooper. / To Which Are Added, / The Hymns That Were Sung, and



The / Prayers That Were Offered Up, / Before and After The / Sermon. / Windsor; Re-Printed by Alden Spooner. / 1797.

8vo, pp. 28, (2). AAS.

14. [MACGOWAN, JOSEPH.] The / Life / of / Joseph, / The / Son of Israel. / In Eight Books. / Chiefly designed to allure young minds to a love of / the Sacred Scriptures. / By John [sic] Macgowan. / Windham: (Connecticut) Printed by / John Byrne. / 1797.

8vo, pp. 166. EW2.

1798

15. A / Dictionary / of the / Bible: / or an explanation of the Proper Names & Difficult Words / in the / Old and New Testament, / accented as they ought to be pronounced. / With other / Useful Particulars / for those who would understand the / Sacred Scriptures, / and read them with propriety. / First American Edition, / from the second London edition, enlarged. / Printed at the Press of and for / Isaiah Thomas, Jun. / Sold by him at his Bookstore, also by Isaiah Thomas, at the / Worcester Bookstore, and by Thomas & Andrews, No. 45, Newbury Street, Boston. / Worcester — January — 1798.

12mo, pp. iv, (231), (4). EW2.

1799

16. PRIESTLEY, JOSEPH. A / Comparison / of the / Institutions of Moses / with those of / The Hindoos / and / other Ancient Nations; / with / Remarks on Mr. Dupuis's Origin of all / Religions, / The Laws and Institutions of Moses / Methodized, / and / An Address to the Jews on the present state of the / World and the Prophecies relating to it. / By Joseph Priestley, L.L.D., F.R.S. &c. / Trutina ponantur eadem / Horace. / Northumberland: / Printed for the Author by A. Kennedy. / MDCCXCIX [1799].

8vo, pp. xxvii, 428. (8), EW2.

1800

17. NONES, BENJAMIN. To the Printer of the Gazette of the United States. / Sir, / I hope, if you take the liberty of inserting calumnies

against individuals, for the amusement of / your readers, you will have so much regard to justice, as to permit the injured . . . / . . . to appeal to the public in self defence. . . . / Benjamin Nones. / Philadelphia, August 11, 1800. [Philadelphia: William Duane, 1800.]

Folio, pp. 2. MW.

18. SOLOMON, SAMUEL. A / Guide to Health; / or, / Advice to Both Sexes: / with / An Essay / On certain Disease, Seminal Weakness, / and / A destructive Habit of a private Nature. / Also an address / To Parents, Tutors & Guardians of Youth. / To which are added, / Observations / on the / Use & Abuse of Cold Bathing. / By S. Solomon, M.D. / Fifty-second Edition. / Stockport / Printed, for the Author, by J. Clarke, 21, Underbank; / and sold by / Robert Bach, New-York. / Price One Dollar. [1800]

8vo, pp. 283, with frontispiece portrait and one plate. LCP.

## 1801

19. ETTING, REUBEN. Schedule of the whole number of Persons in the District of Maryland. / [*table of 14 columns*] / Baltimore, December 21st, 1801, / Reuben Etting, Marshal of the District of Maryland. [Baltimore: 1801.]

Folio, pp. 2. Possibly printed at Washington. On verso are printed letters of transmittal from Etting to Madison, Dec. 21, 1801, and from Jefferson to Congress, Dec. 23, 1801. Mass. Hist. Soc.

## 1803

20. COHEN, JACOB I. Sales at / Auction, / By Prosser & Moncure, / All That Valuable Assortment of / Merchandize, / Belonging to the estate of Israel I. Cohen, dec. late of this City, / on Wednesday the 16th inst. . . . / . . . / Richmond, November 7th, 1803. / Jacob I. Cohen, Adm'r. / Printed by S. Pleasants, Junior, Richmond [1803].

Folio, broadside. EW2.

20a. ILLINOIS AND WABASH LAND COMPANIES. An / Account / of the / Proceedings / of the / Illinois and Ouabache / Land Companies, / in pursuance of their purchases made of the / Independent Natives, /

July 5th, 1773, and 18th October, 1775. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William Duane, No. 106, Market Street. / 1803.

8vo, pp. 74. Among the original shareholders who made the purchase were Moses, Jacob and David Franks, Barnard and Michael Gratz, Joseph Simon and Levy Andrew Levy. LCP.

21. [MACGOWAN, JOSEPH.] The / Life / of / Joseph / The Son of Israel. / In Eight Books. / Chiefly designed for the use / of youth. / [*four-line quotation*] / Brookfield, Massachusetts, / Printed by E. Merriam & Co. / July 1803.

12mo, pp. 153, (3). HUC.

22. MONTEFIORE, JOSHUA. Commercial and Notarial / Precedents: / consisting of / All the most approved Forms, Common and Special, / which are required in Transactions of Business: / With an Appendix, / Containing principles of Law relative to / Bills of Exchange, Insurance, and Shipping: / By Joshua Montefiore, / Attorney and Notary Public of the City of London. / Philadelphia: / Printed and Sold by James Humphreys, / At the N. W. Corner of Walnut and Dock-Streets. / 1803.

8vo, pp. xvi, 350, 2. LCP.

23. PRIESTLEY, JOSEPH. The Originality / And / Superior Excellence / Of The / Mosaic Institutions / Demonstrated. / By Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. / . . . / Northumberland: / Printed by Andrew Kennedy, Franklin's Head, Queen-Street: / for P. Byrne, No. 72 Chesnut Street, / Philadelphia. / 1803.

16mo, pp. 36. AAS.

1805

24. [PHILLIPSON, SIMON.] Report / of / the Committee / of / Commerce and Manufacturers, / to whom / was referred on the eighteenth / of December last, / the / Petition / of / Simon Philipson, / of the City of Philadelphia. / 20th February, 1805. / Read and ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole / House, tomorrow. / [Washington: 1805.]

8vo, pp. 4. HUC.

25. SMITH, ELIAS. The / Whole World Governed by a Jew; / or The / Government / of The / Second Adam, as King and Priest; / Described From The Scriptures. / Delivered March 4, 1805, the Evening after the / Election of the President & Vice-President. / By Elias Smith. / . . . / Exeter; / Printed By Henry Ranlet, / And sold at his Bookstore: and by Elias Smith, Portsmouth; / B. B. Macanulty, Salem; Daniel Conant, No. 8, and / Joseph Pulsifer, No. 36, Backstreet, Boston; J. Prince, / Freetown, Mass.; Timothy Kezer, Kennebunk, and the / Book-sellers in the United States. 1805.

12mo, pp. 84. AAS.

1809

26. [HOLFORD, GEORGE PETER.] The / Destruction / of / Jerusalem, / an Absolute and Irresistible Proof / of / The Divine Origin / of / Christianity: / Including / A Narrative of the Calamities Which Befel / the Jews, so far as they tend to Verify / Our Lord's Predictions Relative / to that Event. / With / A Brief Description of the / City and Temple. / . . . / Third American Edition. / Philadelphia: / Published by Joseph Sharpless, at Rose-Mount, / half a mile above Callowhill Street, / on the Ridge Road. 1809.

12mo, pp. 144. AAS.

27. NOAH, MORDECAI MANUEL, *ed.* Shakspeare Illustrated: / or, the / Novels and Histories / on which the / Plays of Shakspeare / are founded. / Collected and translated from the originals, / By Mrs. Lenox, / Author of the Female Quixote, &c. / With Critical Remarks, / and / Biographical Sketches of the Writers, / By M. M. Noah. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. / Published by / Bradford & Inskeep, Philadelphia; Inskeep & Bradford, / New York; William M'Illhenney, Jun., Boston; Coale & / Thomas, Baltimore; and E. Morford, Charleston. / Printed by T. & G. Palmer, Philadelphia. / 1809.

8vo, pp. viii, (2), 341. Only the first volume was published. LCP.

27a. [ETTING, SOLOMON.] Memorial / of the / United / Illinois and Wabash / Land Companies, / to the / Senate and House of Repre-

sentatives / of the / United States. / Baltimore: / Printed by Joseph Robinson, 96, Market-St. / 1810.

8vo, pp. 44. The memorial was signed by the agents of the companies, one of whom was Etting. LCP.

1810

28. GOLDSMITH, LEWIS. An / Exposition / of the / Conduct of France / towards / America: / illustrated by / Cases / decided in the / Council of Prizes in Paris. / By Lewis Goldsmith, / Notary Public, / Author of "The Crimes of Cabinets" — Translator of Mr. D'Hauterive's / "Etat de la France à la Fin de l'An 8," &c. &c. / [*two-line quotation from Virgil*] / Second Edition. / New York: / Printed for Ezra Sargeant, 86 Broadway, / opposite Trinity Church. / 1810.

12mo, pp. 99. First printed at London the same year. LCP.

28a. GOLDSMITH, LEWIS. The / Secret History / of the / Cabinet of Bonaparte; / including / His Private Life, Character, Domestic Administration, and / his Conduct to Foreign Powers; / Together with / Secret Anecdotes / of the different courts of Europe, and of the French / Revolution. / With / Two Appendices, / . . . / by Lewis Goldsmith, / Notary Public. / . . . / Edited and Illustrated with Notes, / By a Gentleman of New-York; / . . . / Vol. I (-II). / New-York: / Printed for E. Sargeant and M. & W. Ward. / And also sold by / Brannan & Morford, Philadelphia; E. Morford, Willington & Co. Charles- / ton; Seymour & Williams, Savannah; Munroe & Francis, O. C. Green- / leaf, W. Wells, West & Blake, John West & Co. Boston; . . . / . . . / 1810.

2 vols., 12mo, pp. (4), 257; (2), iv, 300. LCP.

29. LA MOTTA, JACOB DE. An / Investigation / of the / Properties and Effects, / of the / *Spiraea Trifoliata* / of Linnaeus, / or / Indian Physic. / By / Jacob de La Motta, / Of Charleston South Carolina. / Member of the Philadelphia Medical and American Linnaean / Societies; and Member of the Charleston Philosophical Society. / "Fiat Experimentum." / [*four-line quotation from Darwin*] / Philadelphia: / Printed by Jane Aitken, No. 71, / North Third Street. / 1810.

8vo, pp. 44. Dissertation submitted to the University of Pennsylvania, April 18, 1810, for the degree of Doctor of Medicine. EW2.

30. A / Word of Entreaty / to the / Jews / dispersed throughout the United States / of America. [*cap. title*] / [*colop.*] Published at J. Tiebout's, No. 238 Water Street, / for the Author. / Largin & Thompson, Printers. [New York: *ca.* 1810.]

12mo, pp. 12. MW.

1811

31. FLEURY, ABBÉ CLAUDE. A Short History / of the / Ancient Israelites: / with an account / Of their Manners, Customs, Laws, Polity, Religion, Sects, Arts, and Trades, Divi- / sion of Time, Wars, Capti- / vities, &c. / A work of the greatest utility. / Written originally in French by the Abbé Fleury, / Much enlarged from the Apparatus Biblicus of Père Lamy, / And corrected and improved throughout / By Adam Clarke, L.L.D. / Baltimore: / Published by J. Kingston, Bookseller, / 164 Market-Street. / B. W. Sower, & Co. Printers. / 1811.

12mo, pp. 307, frontispiece portrait. LCP.

32. MARTIN, JOHN. The / Conquest of Canaan: / in which / The Natural and Moral State of / its Inhabitants; / The Character of their Conquerors; / with / The Manner and Design / of / Their Conquest, / are considered. / In a Series of Letters from a Father to his Son. / By John Martin. / Frankford [Philadelphia]: Printed by Coale & Gilbert. / 1811

12mo, pp. 303, folding map. EW2.

33. MONTEFIORE, JOSHUA. The / American Trader's / Compendium; / containing / The Laws, Customs, and Regulations / of / The United States, / Relative to Commerce. / Including the most useful precedents adapted to / general business. / Dedicated by Permission / to the / Honorable William Tilghman, / Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. / By J. Montefiore, / Author of the Commercial Dictionary, Commercial / and Notarial Precedents, &c. &c. / Philadelphia: / Published by Samuel R. Fisher, Junr. / No. 30, South Fourth Street. / William Brown, Printer. / 1811.

8vo. pp. xii, 304. EW2.

34. MONTMOLLIN, FREDERICK, and MOSES, SOLOMON. [Circular] / Philadelphia, 12th August 1811. / [Sir.] / In compliance with the general wish of my friends, I have formed an / Establishment in the Auction and Commission business, with Mr. Solomon / Moses . . . / Signatures. / Frederick Montmollin. / Solomon Moses.

4to, broadside. Girard College.

35. NEW YORK (STATE), ASSEMBLY, SENATE. In Senate — February 27, 1811. / Gentlemen, / I deem it my duty to communicate to you . . . / . . . / Report of the Managers of Union College / Lottery. / . . . / [Albany: 1811.]

Folio, pp. 4. An emergency report made necessary by the failure of Naphtali Judah, one of the major purchasers of tickets. HUC.

1812

36. BINNY & RONALDSON. Specimen / of / Printing Types, / from the / Foundry / of / Binny & Ronaldson. / Philadelphia. / Fry and Kammerer, Printers. / 1812.

8vo, 41 leaves. Pica, Long Primer, and Brevier Hebrew are displayed. LCP.

1813

37. CLARKE, EDWARD DANIEL. Travels / in / Various Countries / of / Europe, Asia, and Africa. / Commencing January 1, 1801. / By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. / Part the Second. / Greece, Egypt, and The Holy Land. / Section the First. / New-York: / Published by Whiting and Watson, / Theological and Classical Booksellers, No. 96, Broadway. / Printed by T. C. Fay, 157, Chatham-street. / 1813.

12mo, pp. xvi, 327, 113. This is the only section dealing with Palestine. LCP.

37a. ———. Travels / in / Various Countries / of / Europe, Asia, and Africa. / By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. / Part the Second. / Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. / Section I. / Second American Edition. / Printed by Heman Willard, / Stockbridge, Massachusetts. / 1813.

12mo, pp. xxiv, 400. LCP.

38. HORWITZ, JONAS. Just put to Press, / and will be published with all convenient speed, / The first American edition of / Van Der Hooght's / Hebrew Bible, / without the points. / By J. Horwitz. [Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1813.]

8vo, pp. 4. Prospectus for the first Hebrew Bible printed in America. University of Virginia.

1814

39. The / American Speaker; / A / Selection / of / Popular, Parliamentary and Forensic / Eloquence; / particularly calculated / for the Seminaries in the United States. / Second Edition. / Philadelphia: / Printed and published by / Abraham Small. / 1814.

12mo, pp. xii, 395. On pp. 279-282 appears the "Speech delivered by Jacob Henry, in the Legislature of North-Carolina, on a motion to vacate his seat, he being a Jew." Henry's speech does not appear in the first edition of 1811. LCP.

39a. CLARKE, EDWARD DANIEL. Travels / in / Various Countries / in / Europe, Asia, and Africa. / By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. / Part the Second. / Greece, Egypt, and The Holy Land. / Section I. / The Fourth American Edition. / New-York: / Published by D. Huntington. / C. S. Van Winkle, Printer. / 1814.

12mo, pp. xii, 406, (1). LCP.

1815

40. LUTYENS, GOTTHILF N. The / Life and Adventures / of / Moses Nathan Israel. / By G. N. Lutyens. / Containing / An Account of his Birth, Education and / Travels through Parts of Germany, / Italy, and the / United States, / where he met with his family; / interspersed with many interesting / Anecdotes: / With a description of the Government, Manners / and Customs of different parts of / Germany & Italy. / Easton: / Printed by Christian J. Hutter, / 1815.

12mo, pp. 214, (2). Rosenbach Foundation.

1816

40a. [ETTING, SOLOMON.] Memorial / of the / United / Illinois and Wabash / Land Companies, / to the / Senate and House of Repre-



sentatives / of the / United States. / Baltimore: / Printed by Joseph Robinson, 96, Market-St. / 1816.

8vo, pp. 48. The memorial was signed by the agents of the companies, one of whom was Etting. LCP.

41. NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH, CITIZENS. To the / President and Directors / of the / Bank of the United States, / at / Philadelphia. / Gentlemen, / At a numerous meeting of the citizens of Nor- / folk and Portsmouth, . . . [Norfolk: 1816.]

8vo, pp. 12. Moses Myers was one of the committee who signed the memorial. LCP.

42. RONALDSON, JAMES. Specimen / of / Printing Type, / from the / Letter Foundry / of / James Ronaldson, / Successor to / Binny & Ronaldson. / Cedar between Ninth and Tenth streets, / Philadelphia. / 1816.

8vo. 43 leaves. Double Pica, Pica, Long Primer, Pica with Points, and Brevier Hebrew are displayed. LCP.

1817

43. BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD. Hebrew Melodies. / By Lord Byron. / Philadelphia: / Published by James P. Parke, / No. 74, South Second Street. / Wm. Fry, Printer. 1815.

12mo, pp. 47. LCP.

44. COHEN, JACOB I., JR. Cohen's / Lottery and Exchange-Office, / Baltimore. / The proprietor of this establishment, begs leave to present to his customers, / agents and correspondents, and to the publick (by Authority of the State of Maryland,) / the most splendid lottery ever projected in this Country, being / For the Benefit of the / Surgical Institution of Baltimore. / . . . / J. I. Cohen, Jr. / . . . / Baltimore, 1817.

Folio, broadside. Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland.

45. [JUDAH, MANUEL, and SAUNDERS, CHARLES H.] (27) / Report / Of the Committee of Ways and Means on the Peti- / tion of Charles H.

Saunders and Manuel Judah. / January 2, 1817. / . . . / [Washington: 1817.]

8vo, pp. 4. The petitioners' claim for recovery of duty on liquor lost by fire was turned down. HUC.

46. LACEY, HENRY. The / Principal Events / in the / Life of Moses, / and in the / Journey of the Israelites / from / Egypt to Canaan. / By Henry Lacey. / Philadelphia: / Published by Benjamin Johnson, 31 Market-street. / D. Dickinson, Printer. / 1817.

12mo, pp. 84. LCP.

46a. MARKS, ELIAS. The / Aphorisms / of / Hippocrates / From the Latin Version of Verhoofd / with a / Literal Translation on the Opposite Page / and / Explanatory Notes / [*one-line quotation*] / The Work intended As a Book of Reference / to the Medical Student. / By Elias Marks, M.D. / Member of the Physico-Medical Society of New-York / New-York: / Printed and Sold by Collins & Co., no. 182, Pearl / Street. / 1817.

12mo, pp. 169 (pp. 145-6 omitted). College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

47. The / Return / of / The Jews, / and the / Second Advent of Our Lord, / proved to be a scripture doctrine, / By a citizen of Baltimore. / "Slave to no sect, who takes no private road." / Baltimore: / Printed by Richard J. Matchett. / 1817.

8vo, pp. 60. LCP.

# 1819

47a. NICODEMUS. Das / Evangelium Nicodemus, / oder / Gewisser Bericht / Von dem Leben, Leiden und Sterben, / Unsers Heilands / Jesu Christi, / und von den / Zwölf Stämmen der Juden / und sonst noch mehr schöne Stücke, / wo das mehrste von den Evangelisten nicht beschrieben / worden ist, / Beschrieben von / Nicodemus, / ein Priester und Oberster der Juden und ein / heimlicher Jünger und Nachfolger Jesu, / Nebst Theotesius, / welcher auch ein Priester und Schriftgelehrter / der Juden war. / Aus Herrn Philippi Kegeli Anhang zum geistlichen Weg- / weiser nach dem himmlischen Vaterlande &c. / genommen. / Auch ein neuer Zusaz zum Evangeli Nico-

demi / Und ein Anhang von der / Genoveva und Helena. / Neu verfasst und zum erstenmal in dieser Form heraus- / gegeben von / Johann George Homan, / im Rosenthal, nahe bey Reading, Pennsylvanien, im / Jahr Christi, 1819. / Reading . . . gedruckt bey C. A. Bruckman . . . 1819.

12mo, pp. 302. LCP.

1820

48. HOLFORD, GEORGE PETER. The / Destruction of Jerusalem, / an / Absolute and Irresistible / Proof / of / the Divine Origin / of / Christianity: / Including / A Narrative of the Calamities which Befell / the Jews, so far as they tend to Ver- / ify Our Lord's Predictions Rel- / ative to that Event. / With / A Brief Description of the City and / Temple. / . . . / Third American Edition. / Pottstown: / Printed by John Royer. / 1820.

12mo, pp. 132. AAS.

49. MILMAN, HENRY HART. The / Fall of Jerusalem. / A / Dramatic Poem. / By the Rev. H. H. Milman. / New-York: / Published by L. and F. Lockwood. / C. S. Van Winkle, Printer. / 1820.

12mo, pp. 180. LCP.

50. [NOAH, MORDECAI MANUEL.] Essays / of / Howard, / on / Domestic Economy. / Originally published in the New-York Advocate. / "Eye Nature's Walks." / New-York: / Printed by G. L. Birch & Co. / No. 39½ Frankfort-street. / 1820.

12mo, pp. 214. LCP.

51. TAPPAN, WILLIAM B. Songs of Judah, / and other / Melodies. / By / William B. Tappan, / Author of New England and Other Poems. / Philadelphia: / Published by S. Potter & Co. 87 Chesnut Street. / 1820.

12mo, pp. xi, 204, and engraved title-page. LCP.

1821

52. JOHNSON, DAVID ISRAEL. Auction. / This Evening, at early Candle-light, will be sold, / at the Auction and Commission Store of / D. I.

Johnson, / No. 175, Main Street, / A Valuable Assortment of / Dry Goods, / Hardware, &c. / ... Together with a few Books, &c. / Cincinnati, Thursday, January 4, 1821. / Printed at the Office of the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette [1821].

Folio, broadside. HUC.

53. [SEIXAS, DAVID G.] An / Account / of the / Origin and Progress / of the / Pennsylvania Institution / for the / Deaf and Dumb. / With / A List of the Contributors, &c. / Published by order of the Directors. / Philadelphia: / Printed by William Fry, No. 63, South Fifth Street. / 1821. /

8vo, pp. 38, (1). David G. Seixas was the founder and first director of the Institution. LCP.

54. ———. To the Editors of the American Sentinel. / My communication of the 7th, which appeared / in several gazettes of this city, remains until this / day unanswered. ... / .... / David G. Seixas. / December 14th. / ... / [Philadelphia: 1821.]

Folio, broadside. HUC.

55. VIRGINIA, HOUSE OF DELEGATES. Report / and / Resolutions / concerning / The Citation of the Commonwealth, / to answer a complaint before / The Supreme Court / of the / United States. / [Printed by order of the House of Delegates.] / Richmond: / Printed by Thomas Ritchie, / Printer for the Commonwealth. / 1821.

8vo, pp. 24. Philip I. Cohen and Mendez I. Cohen were the plaintiffs in the Supreme Court. LCP.

## 1822

56. BOSTON, BAPTIST FEMALE SOCIETY. Constitution / of the / Baptist Female Society / of / Boston and Vicinity / for / Promoting the Conversion of the Jews; / Organized, October 24th, 1822. / With / An Address on the Subject. / (*three-line quotation*) / Boston: / Printed by Thomas Badger, Jun. / No. 10 Merchants' Hall / 1822.

8vo, pp. 8. Abraham Karp.

57. IRVING, C. A Catechism / of / Jewish Antiquities / Containing / An Account / of the / Classes, Institutions, Rites, Ceremonies, Man-

ners, / Customs, &c. / of the / Ancient Jews. / Adapted to the use of  
Schools in the / United States. / With Engraved Illustrations. / By  
C. Irving, LL.D. / Holyrood-house, Southampton. / . . . / First Amer-  
ican Edition, Revised and Improved. / New-York: / F. and R. Lock-  
wood, 154 Broadway. / 1822. / Gray & Hewit, Printers.

12mo, pp. 80, frontispiece. AAS.

58. MONTEFIORE, JOSHUA. Commercial and Notarial / Precedents: /  
consisting of / The Most Approved Forms, / special and common, /  
required in / the daily transactions of business, / by / Merchants,  
Traders, Notaries, Attornies, &c. Each set of precedents preceded by /  
A summary of the law on the subject. / Particularly on / Bills o  
Exchange, Insurance, Salvage, &c. / By Joshua Montefiore, / Attor-  
ney and Notary Public of the City of London. / Second American,  
from the last London Edition, / with / An Introduction, / and / Con-  
siderable Alterations and Additions, / By Clement C. Biddle, Notary  
Public. / Philadelphia: / H. C. Carey & I. Lea — Chesnut Street, /  
and H. C. Carey & Co. No. 157, Broadway, New York. / 1822.

8vo, pp. xx, 480. University of Pennsylvania.

59. PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB. Deaf and  
Dumb, / From the Columbian Observer, / April 20, 1822. / . . . /  
[Philadelphia: 1822.]

4to, pp. 2, A pro-Seixas statement. LCP.

60. ———. Deaf and Dumb School. / “On evil deeds, censures ac-  
cumulate.” / . . . / [signed] Anti-Persecutor. [Philadelphia: 1822.]

Folio, broadside. A pro-Seixas statement. LCP.

61. SOLIS, JACOB S. Circular. / In compliance with my pledge . . . /  
. . . / Mount Pleasant, Westchester County, N. Y. / P. S. — J. S. S.  
will call for the answer to this Circular. / [2nd page:] The Plan / For  
Improving the Condition of Jewish Youth of Both Sexes, / by Jacob  
S. Solis. / Mount Pleasant, Westchester County, N. Y. / . . . [n. p.:  
1822?]

4to, pp. 2. EW2.

1823

62. AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MELIORATING THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS. The American Society, / For Meliorating the Condition of the Jews, / Was formed in New-York in 1820: / Whose Object is thus Stated — / (*cap. title*) . . . / (*colop.*) Wm. Riley, Printer, 41 Broadway, Charleston. [1823].

8vo, pp. 4. Rutgers University.

63. CUMBERLAND, RICHARD. The Jew. / A Comedy. / In five acts. / By Richard Cumberland, Esq. / As performed at the Philadelphia Theatre. / Philadelphia: / Published by Thomas H. Palmer. / 1823.

16mo, pp. 67, (1). HUC.

1824

64. ENGLISH, GEORGE BETHUNE. Five Pebbles / from / The Brook. / being / A Reply / to / "A Defence of Christianity" / written by / Edward Everett, / Greek Professor of Harvard University. / In answer to / "The Grounds of Christianity Examined / by / Comparing the New Testament with the Old." / By / George Bethune English. / [*five lines of biblical quotations*] / Philadelphia: Printed for the Author. / 1824.

12mo, pp. 124, (2). EW2.

65. [GOLDSMITH, MORRIS.] 18th Congress, / 1st Session. / [91] / Report / Of the Committee of Claims in the case of Goldsmith and Roderick, / with a bill for their relief. / March 22, 1824. / Read, and, with the bill, committed to a committee of the whole House to-morrow. / . . . [Washington, 1824.]

8vo, pp. 2. Approving a claim of Morris Goldsmith for payment of services rendered in arresting pirates while he was acting as deputy to the Marshal for the State of South Carolina in 1819-20. LCP.

66. [LEVY, JACOB c.] A / Table / of the Corresponding Prices / of / Cotton, / Shipped from the United States, / and / sold in Liverpool, / from / five pence to two shillings / Rising by Farthings; / And Exchange on / London / from par to sixteen per cent / Premium. / Charleston / Printed by Gray & Ellis, No. 9 Broad-Street / 1824.

16mo, pp. 26. Levy's name appears in the copyright as "author and proprietor." LCP.

66a. HILLHOUSE, JAMES ABRAHAM. *Scena Quarta / del / Quinto Atto / di / Adad, / Poema Drammatico. / Del Signor Giacomo A. Hillhouse. / Tradotta in verso Italiano / da / L. Da Ponte. / E / Dedicata rispettosamente / alla Signora Cornelia Hillhouse. / Sua veneratissima allieva. / New-York: / Stampatori Gray e Bunce. / 1825.*

16mo, pp. 17. This is Rosenbach 274 of which no copy was located and no detailed description given. EW2.

1825

67. MOORE, CLEMENT C. A / *Lecture / introductory to / The Course of Hebrew Instruction / in the / General Theological Seminary / of the / Protestant Episcopal Church / in the / United States, / Delivered in Christ Church, New-York, on the Evening of / November 14th, 1825. / By / Clement C. Moore, A.M. / Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature. / New-York: / Printed by T. and J. Swords. / No. 99 Pearl-street. / 1825.*

8vo, pp. 28. LCP.

68. NORTON, ELIJAH. *The / Jew's Friend, / By which all their doubts are removed respecting / Melchizedec, / Compared with Christ; / And proved to be the same person and / True Messiah; / And Contains an Answer to all Socini- / an and Unitarian Arguments / against the Trinity. / By Elijah Norton, / Minister of the Gospel. / . . . / Dedicated to the Rev. F. Frey, for / the Conversion of the Jews under his min- / istry at New-York, and in all the world. / Woodstock: / Printed by David Watson. / 1825.*

24mo, pp. 48. AAS.

1826

69. LOPEZ, MATHIAS, *ed.* Lopez and Wemyss' Edition. / *The Acting American Theatre. / Marmion; / or, / The Battle of Flodden Field. / A Drama, / in Five Acts. / By James N. Barker, Esq. / with / A Portrait of Mr. Duff, / in the / Character of Marmion. / The Plays carefully corrected from the Prompt Books of the / Philadelphia Theatre. / By M. Lopez, Prompter. / Philadelphia: / Published by A. R. Poole, and Ash & Mason: P. Thompson, / Washington: H. W. Bool, Baltimore: E. M. Murden, New / York. For the Proprietors, and*

to be had of / all the principal booksellers in / the United States. / Price to non-subscribers, Fifty Cents. [1826]

12mo, pp. 62, and portrait. University of Pennsylvania.

70. ——— . Lopez and Wemyss' / Edition. / The / Acting American Theatre. / The Tragedy of / Superstition, / by / James N. Barker, Esq. / Author of Marmion A Tragedy, &c. / with a portrait of / Mrs. Duff, / in the character of / Mary. / The Plays carefully corrected from the Prompt books of the / Philadelphia Theatre. / By M. Lopez, Prompter. / Published by A. R. Poole, Chesnut Street, / For the Proprietors. / And to be had of all the principal booksellers in the / United States. / Price to non-subscribers, Fifty cents. [1826]

12mo, pp. 68, and portrait. LCP.

70a. ——— . Lopez & Wemyss' / Edition. / The / Acting American Theatre. / Wild Oats, / with a portrait of Mr. Francis, / (Father of the American Stage,) / as / Sir George Thunder. / The Plays carefully corrected from the Prompt books of the / Philadelphia Theatre. / By M. Lopez, Prompter. / Published by A. R. Poole, Chesnut Street. / For the Proprietors, / And to be had of all the principal booksellers in the / United States. / Price, 37½ cents. / J. R. M. Bicking, Printer, — 1826.

12mo, pp. 82 and portrait. EW2.

71. ——— . Lopez and Wemyss' / Edition. / The / Acting American Theatre. / The Old Maid, / A Comedy in two acts, / By Mr. Murphy. / With a portrait of / Mrs. Francis, / as / Miss Harlow. / The Plays carefully corrected from the Prompt books of the / Philadelphia Theatre. / By M. Lopez, Prompter. / Published by A. R. Poole, Chesnut Street, / For the Proprietors. / And to be had of all the principal booksellers in the / United States. / Price to non-subscribers, Fifty cents. [1826]

12mo, pp. 35. LCP.

71a. MORE, HANNAH. Sacred Dramas, / by / Hannah More. / To which are added / Reflections of King Hezekiah; / Sensibility, a Poem; / and / Search after Happiness. / Princeton Press: / Published by D. A. Borrenstein. / 1826.

16mo, pp. 209. University of Pennsylvania.



72. PONTE, LORENZO DA. Assur, Re d'Ormus: / Drama, / di / Lorenzo da Ponte. / Imitato da Tarar / di / Beaumarchais. / Messo in musica / da / A. Salieri. / Pel Teatro imperiale di Vienna. / New-York: / Stampatori Giovanni Gray e Co. / 1826.

12mo, pp. 47. LCP.

73. ———. Il / Don Giovanni, / Dramma Eroicomico, / di / Lorenzo Da Ponte, / Composto da lui per la Nozze del Principe Antonio di / Sassonia — Colla Principessa M. Teresa Figlia / dell' Impr. Leopoldo. / E messo in musica dall' immortale / V. Mozart. / Nova-Jorca: / Stampatori Giovanni Gray e Co. / 1826.

12mo, pp. 51. An entirely different edition from Rosenbach 288. LCP.

1827

74. [PHILLIPS, JONAS B.] Tales / for / Leisure Hours. / [*six-line quotation from "Winter Evenings"*] / Philadelphia. / Atkinson & Alexander, Printers. / 1827.

12mo, pp. 162. LCP (Presentation copy from the author).

75. [SAUL, JOSEPH.] The / Opinion / of / The Supreme Court / of / The State of Louisiana, / on a question / arising in / The Cause / of / Saul vs. His Creditors, / whether, / In the case of a Marriage contracted in a State, governed by the / Common Law of England, between Parties there residing, / but who afterwards remove to Louisiana, and there / acquire property, such property on the dissolution / of the Marriage should be regulated by the / Laws of the Country where the / Marriage was contracted, / or of that where it / was dissolved. / New-Orleans: / Printed by Benjamin Levy, / Corner of Chartres and Bienville streets. / 1827.

8vo, pp. 24. Joseph Saul was married in Virginia in 1794, moved to Louisiana in 1804, and his wife died in Louisiana in 1819. LCP.

76. The / Young Jewess: / A Narrative / illustrative of the / Polish and English Jews / Of the Present Century. / Exhibiting the / Superior Moral Influence / of / Christianity. / From the London Edition. / Boston: / Published by James Loring, / No. 132 Washington-street. / 1827.

12mo, pp. 180, woodcut frontispiece. LCP.

## 1828

77. [HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.*] American Ornithology; / or / The Natural History / of the / Birds of the United States. / Illustrated With Plates / Engraved and coloured from original drawings taken / from nature. / By Alexander Wilson. / With a sketch of the Author's Life, / By George Ord, F.L.S. &c. / In Three Vols. — Vol. I (—III). / Published by Collins & Co., New York, / and / Harrison Hall, Philadelphia. / 1828.

8vo, 3 vols., and 4to atlas of plates, pp. cxcix, 231; 456; vi, 396; and 76 plates. Although Isaac Hays's name does not appear as the editor of this edition, the Dictionary of American Biography states that he was. An unsigned editor's preface appears on pp. [v]—vi. EW2.

78. PHILLIPS, ZALEGMAN. To the Electors / Of the Second Congressional District of the State of / Pennsylvania. / . . . [*signed at end:*] Zalegman Phillips. / Philadelphia, August 15th, 1828.

8vo, pp. 15. LCP.

## 1829

79. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* Elements / of / Physics, / or / Natural Philosophy, / General and Medical, / explained independently of / Technical Mathematics, / and containing / new disquisitions and practical suggestions. / By Neil Arnott, M.D., / of the Royal College of Physicians. / First American from the Third London Edition, / With Additions, / By Isaac Hays, A.M., M.D., &c. / Philadelphia: / Carey, Lea & Carey — Chesnut Street. / 1829.

8vo, pp. 532. College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

## 1830

80. ABRAHAM, RICHARD. A / Catalogue / of / Italian, Flemish, Spanish, Dutch, French, / and English / Pictures; / which have been collected in Europe and brought to / this country by / Mr. Richard Abraham, / Of New Bond Street, London, / and are / Now Exhibiting / at the / American Academy of Fine Arts. / New York: / Printed by Christian Brown, / 211 Water Street. / 1830.

8vo, pp. 53. LCP.

81. BALTIMORE, HEBREW CONGREGATION. Constitution / and / By-Laws / of the / Hebrew Congregation / Nitgy Israel / of the / City of Baltimore. / 5590. / Baltimore: / Printed by Sands & Neilson, / at the Chronicle Office. / 1830.

16mo, pp. 14. MW.

82. [CARDOZO, JACOB N.] 21st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Rep. No. 306.] / Ho. of Reps. / J. N. Cardozo. / March 17, 1830. / Mr. Overton, from the Committee of Ways and Means, made the following / Report: / . . . [Washington, 1830.]

8vo, pp. 2. Releasing Cardozo from a contract with the government for printing in the Charleston *Southern Patriot*. LCP.

83. MADDEN, RICHARD ROBERT. Travels / in / Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, / and / Palestine, / in 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827. / By / R. R. Madden, Esq., M.R.C.S. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. (-II) / Philadelphia: / Carey & Lea. / 1830.

2 vols., 12mo, pp. 250; 238. Dedicated to Moses Montefiore. EW2.

84. MONTEFIORE, JOSHUA. Synopsis / of / Mercantile Laws, / with an / Appendix: / Containing the most approved forms of notarial and commercial / precedents, special and common, required in the daily / transaction of business. / By Merchants, Traders, Notaries, Attornies, &c. / A New Edition / Revised, corrected and enlarged, with reference to the / alterations effected by the revised statutes / of the State of New-York. / By Joshua Montefiore: / Attorney, Solicitor, and Notary Public, Author of the Commercial Diction- / ary, Notarial and Commercial Precedents, Law of Insolvents, / &c. &c. &c. / New-York: / G. & C. & H. Carvill. / 1830.

8vo, pp. xxvii, [164], 336, [2]. University of Pennsylvania.

85. NEW YORK, HEBRA HASED VA AMET. Hebra Hased Va Amet. / To the Ladies / of the / Jewish Persuasion. / The Committee appointed by the Hebra Hased Va Amet, to adopt such measures as / may be deemed expedient for the formation of a Society of the Ladies . . . / . . . / Isaac B. Seixas, / Myer Levy, / Aaron H. Judah, / Solomon Seixas, / Samuel N. Judah. / New York, 15th March, 1830. [New York: 1830]

8vo, broadside. American Jewish Historical Society (Lyons Collection).

1831

86. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* Elements / of / Physics, / or / Natural Philosophy, / General and Medical, / explained independently of / Technical Mathematics, / and containing / new disquisitions and practical suggestions. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. / By Neil Arnott, M.D., / of the Royal College of Physicians. / Second American from the Fourth London Edition. / With Additions, / By Isaac Hays, A.M., M.D., &c. / Philadelphia: / Carey and Lea — Chesnut Street. / 1831.

12mo, pp. 552. Apparently Hays did not edit the first part of Vol. II which appeared the same year. University of Pennsylvania.

87. ———. History / of / Chronic Phlegmasiae, / or / Inflammations, / founded on / clinical experience and pathological anatomy, / exhibiting a view of / the different varieties and complications of these diseases, / with their / Various Methods of Treatment. / By F. J. V. Broussais, M.D. / [*six lines of titles*] / Translated from the French of the Fourth Edition, / By Isaac Hays, M.D. / and / R. Eglesfield Griffith, M.D. / Members of the American Philosophical Society, of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Honorary / Members of the Philadelphia Medical Society, &c. &c. / Volume I. / Philadelphia: / Carey & Lea. / 1831.

8vo, pp. 497. University of Pennsylvania.

88. ———. Select / Medico-Chirurgical / Transactions; / A Collection / of the / Most Valuable Memoirs / read to the / Medico-Chirurgical Societies of London and Edinburgh; the Association / of Fellows and Licentiates of the King and Queen's College of / Physicians in Ireland; the Royal Academy of Medicine of Paris; the Royal Societies of London and / Edinburgh; the Royal Academy of Turin; / the Medical and the Anatomical Societies of Paris, &c. &c. &c. / Edited by Isaac Hays, M.D. / Philadelphia: / E. L. Carey and A. Hart, / Fourth and Chesnut St. / 1831.

8vo, pp. 4, 420. EW2.

89. LEO-WOLF, JOSEPH. Observations / on the / Prevention and Cure / of / Hydrophobia. / According to the latest publications in Germany. / Read before the New-York Medical and Philosophical Society, / By

Joseph Leo-Wolf, M.D., / Physician in the City of New-York. / [*one-line quotation from Bacon*] / New York: / G. & C. & H. Carvill. / 1831.  
8vo, pp. 31. LCP.

90. MYERS, MOSES. 21st Congress, / 2d Session. / [Doc. No. 70.] / Ho. of Reps. / Memorial of Moses Myers. / January 24, 1831. / Referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. / . . . / [Washington: 1831.]

8vo, pp. 2. Asking compensation for outstanding bonds after being relieved as collector of the District of Norfolk and Portsmouth in 1827-30. LCP.

1832

91. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* Principles / of / Physiological Medicine, / in the / form of propositions, / embracing / Physiology, Pathology, and Therapeutics, / with / Commentaries / on those relating to / Pathology. / By F. J. V. Broussais, M.D. / [*six lines of titles*] / Translated from the French, / By Isaac Hays, M.D. / and / R. Eglesfield Griffith, M.D. / Members of the American Philosophical Society, of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Honorary / Members of the Philadelphia Medical Society, &c. &c. / Philadelphia: / Carey & Lea. / 1832.

8vo, pp. 594. EW2.

92. Nicholas Biddle / and the / Bank. / Loans and Discounts. / "Fair business transactions." / . . . / [1832]

8vo, pp. 14. Entirely concerned with M. M. Noah's loan from the Bank of the United States to buy out his partner in the *New York Courier*. LCP.

93. PEIXOTTO, DANIEL L. M. New York, August 1, 1832. / Sir, / I deem it my duty to call your attention to the propriety of so modifying the observance of the / Fast, which takes place on the ninth of Ab. (Sunday next,) as not to expose those who strictly keep it, / to incur the pestilential disease . . . / . . . / Very respectfully, / Daniel L. M. Peixotto, M.D. [New York, 1832]

4to, broadside. Dropsie College.

94. PHILLIPS, JONAS ALTAMONT. Philadelphia, August 6, 1832. / At a meeting of the Committee of Correspondence, for the / City of Phila-

delphia . . . / . . . / S. Badger, Chairman. / J. A. Phillips, Secretary. / Address / Of the Committee of Correspondence for the City of Phila- / delphia, appointed by the Democratic Convention of the / State of Pennsylvania, held at Harrisburg, March 5, 1832. / . . . / [colophon:] Printed by Mifflin & Parry, at the office of "The Pennsylvanian," / No. 59 Locust street, Philadelphia. [1832]

8vo, pp. 8. Phillips was also one of the signers of the address. EW2.

## 1833

95. [GRATZ, MICHAEL.] 23d Congress, 1st Session. / [Rep. No. 71.] / Ho. of Reps. / Michael Gratz. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 81.] / December 23, 1833. / Mr. Marshall, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, made the / following / Report: / . . . [Washington, 1833.]

8vo, p. 1. Ordering the payment of the continental loan office certificates, issued to Gratz in 1779 for supplies bought in the West Indies. LCP.

96. [HOLFORD, GEORGE PETER.] The / Destruction / of / Jerusalem. / An Absolute and Irresistable / Proof / of the Divine Origin of / Christianity: / Including a Narrative of the / Calamities which Befel the Jews. / So far as they tend to verify / Our Lord's Predictions / Relative to that Event. / With a Brief Description of the / City and Temple. / Millbury, Mass: / Printed and Published by B. T. Albro. / 1833.

24mo, pp. 96, with frontispiece. AAS.

97. The / Manners and Customs / of the Jews, / and other Nations mentioned in the Bible. / Illustrated by 120 Engravings. / First American Edition. / Hartford: / Published by Henry Benton. / 1833.

12mo, pp. vi, 172. This was included in error; it is Rosenbach 362. MW.

98. PONTE, LORENZO DA. A / History / of the / Florentine Republic: / and of / The Age and Rule / of / The Medici. / By / Lorenzo L. Da Ponte, / Professor of Ital. Lit. in the University of the City of

New-York. / Vol. I (-II). / New-York: / Collins and Hannay. / W. E. Dean, Printer. / 1833.

2 vols., 12mo, pp. 285; 293. LCP.

1834

99. BALTIMORE, UNITED HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY. Constitution / und / Neben-Gesetze / der / Vereinigten hebraischen wohlthatigen Gesellschaft / von Baltimore, / errichtet in dem Monate לפרט / חשרי / חנוכה / צדקה ישרים חנוכה / Baltimore. / Gedruckt bey Johann T. Hanzsche, Nord-Eutawstrasse. / 1834.

16mo, pp. 48. English title-page supplied. MW.

100. BENJAMIN, JUDAH P., and SLIDELL, THOMAS. Digest / of the / Reported Decisions / of the / Superior Court of the late Territory of / Orleans, / and of the / Supreme Court / of the / State of Louisiana. / By / J. P. Benjamin and T. Slidell, / Attorneys at Law. / New Orleans: / Printed by J. F. Carter, / Camp Street. / 1834.

8vo, pp. 479. Howard-Tilton Memorial Library.

101. COHEN, E. A., & CO. For 1834. / A / Full Directory, / for / Washington City, Georgetown, / and / Alexandria: Containing / [18 lines] / Stages, Etc. / By E. A. Cohen & Co. / Pennsylvania Avenue, two doors below Gadsby's. / Washington City, / Wm. Greer. / 1834.

8vo, pp. 56, 21, 62, 22, (4). LCP.

102. LEVY, AARON. Catalogue / of / Books, / being / the Libraries of the late / Honourable Cadwalader D. Colden, and Right / Rev. Bishop Provost, / To be sold at Auction, / on / Tuesday Evening, May 6th, / And continued until the whole is Sold, / By Aaron Levy, / in the / Large Sales Room, No. 128, Broadway, / Sale to commence at 7 o'clock. / New-York: / Vinten & Elton, Printers, & Wood Engravers, / 72 Bowery. [1834]

12mo, pp. 33. AAS.

103. LEVY, URIAH PHILLIPS. 23d Congress, / 1st Session. / [Doc. No. 240.] / Ho. of Reps. / Statue of Jefferson. / Letters / from / Lieutenant Levy, of the United States Navy, / Presenting to Congress a

statue of Thomas Jefferson. / March 25, 1834. / Referred to the Committee on the Library. / . . . / [Washington:] Gales & Seaton, print. [1834]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

104. NORFOLK COUNTY, VIRGINIA, CITIZENS. 23d Congress, / 1st Session. / [364] / Memorial and Resolutions / of / the Citizens of Norfolk County, Virginia, / Against the measures of the Executive in removing the Deposites from / the Bank of the United States. / May 13, 1834. / . . . / [Washington: 1834.]

8vo, pp. 6. John B. Levy signed the memorial as chairman of the citizens' committee. LCP.

105. [PHILLIPS, ZALEGMAN.] 23d Congress, / 1st Session. / [83] / Proceedings / of a / Meeting of Democratic Citizens of Philadelphia, / In favor of the removal of the Public Deposites from the Bank of the / United States. / February 10, 1834. / Referred to the Committee of Finance, and ordered to be printed. / . . . / [Washington: 1834.]

8vo, pp. 5. The text is largely the preamble and resolutions of Phillips, which the meeting unanimously adopted. LCP.

106. [RUNDALL, MARY ANN.] The / Juvenile Sacred History, / containing the / Principal Events / recorded in / The Old Testament, / with an account of the Jewish Literature, / Manners, Customs and Antiquities; the Weights and Measures, and Nummery / Value of all the Jewish Coins, / reduced to the American Standard: with an Ex- / planation of the / Hebrew Names; / and Geographical Sketches of the / Twelve Tribes, / accompanied with six maps; / and a set of appropriate questions for / Examination of Students. / Third Edition revised. / By / C. W. Bazeley, A.M. / Principal of the Brooklyn Collegiate / Institute. / Brooklyn: / Printed for the Author; and sold by William / Bigelow, 55 Fulton-street. / 1834.

12mo, pp. 228, frontispiece and five maps and charts on yellow paper. EW2.

107. UNITED STATES, CONGRESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. 23d Congress, / 2d Session. / [Doc. No. 41.] / Ho. of Reps. / War Dept. /



David Cooke. / Report / of / the Secretary of War, / On the claim of David Cooke. / December 27, 1834. / . . . / [Washington:] Gales & Seaton, print. [1834]

8vo, pp. 5. Simon Gratz was attorney for one of the parties involved. LCP.

1835

108. CAREY, EDWARD L., and HART, ABRAHAM. Trade List of Books, / Published, and Offered for Sale to the Trade, by / E. L. Carey and A. Hart, / Philadelphia. / January 1, 1835. / . . . / [Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1835.]

4to, broadside. EW2.

108a. [GRATZ, JACOB.] Annual Report / of the / Managers / of the / Union Canal Company / of / Pennsylvania, / to / The Stockholders. / November 17, 1835. / Philadelphia: / Printed for R. P. Desilver. / 1835.

8vo, pp. 11, (3). Signed by Gratz as president. LCP.

108b. JUDAH, SAMUEL B. H. David and Uriah. / A Drama, / in five acts; / founded on the exploits of the man after / God's own heart. / (*two-line quotation from Epictetus*) / Philadelphia: / Published by the author. / 1835.

12mo, pp. 35. American Jewish Historical Society.

109. LEO-WOLF, WILLIAM (or WERNER). Remarks / on / The Abracadabra / of the / Nineteenth Century; / or on / Dr. Samuel Hahnemann's / Homoeopathic Medicine, / with particular reference to / Dr. Constantine Hering's / "Concise View of the Rise and Progress of Homoeopathic Medicine," Philadelphia. 1833. / By William Leo-Wolf, M.D. / (*four-line quotation from Pope*) / New-York: 1835. / Published by Carey, Lea and Blanchard, in Philadelphia.

8vo, pp. 272. LCP.

110. [PORTER, DAVID.] Constantinople / and Its Environs. / In a Series of Letters, / exhibiting / the actual state of the manners, customs, and

habits of / the Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks, as modified / by the policy of Sultan Mahmoud. / By an American, / long resident at Constantinople. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I (-II). / New-York: / Published by Harper & Brothers, / No. 82 Cliff-Street. / 1835.

2 vols., 12mo, pp. 280; 323. LCP.

1836

111. HEINE, HEINRICH. Letters / Auxiliary to the history of / Modern Polite Literature / in Germany. / By Heinrich Heine. / Translated from the German, / By G. W. Haven. / Boston: / James Munroe & Company. / 1836.

12mo, pp. vi, 172. MW.

111a. [GRATZ, JACOB.] Annual Report / of / The Managers / of the / Union Canal Company / of Pennsylvania, / to / The Stockholders. / November 15, 1836. / Philadelphia: / Printed by Charles Alexander, / Athenian Buildings, Franklin Place. / 1836.

8vo, pp. 7, (3). Signed by Gratz as president. LCP.

112. [LEVY, NATHAN.] 24th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Rep. No. 705.] Ho. of Reps. / Nathan Levy. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 658.] / May 31, 1836. / Mr. Cushman, from the Committee on Commerce, made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1836]

8vo, p. 1. Concerning claim for money paid by Levy as American Consul at St. Thomas in 1832. LCP.

1837

113. CATHERWOOD, FREDERICK. Description / of / A View of the City / of / Jerusalem / and / the Surrounding Country, / Now Exhibiting / at / The Panorama, Charles Street. / Painted by Robert Burford, / from Drawings Taken in 1834, / by F. Catherwood, Architect. / Boston: / Printed by Perkins and Marvin. / 1837.

8vo, pp. 12, folding plate. AAS.

114. A / Compendium / of / Jewish History, / exhibited in the form of a / Catechism, / designed / for the use of Sabbath Schools / Second

Edition, / Revised and Corrected. / Boston: / Abel Tompkins, / Universalist Sabbath School Depository / Cornhill. / 1837.

12mo, pp. 50. HUC.

115. [LEVY, NATHAN.] 25th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Rep. No. 87.] / Ho. of Reps. / Nathan Levy. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 103.] / December 22, 1837. / Mr. Cushman, from the Committee on Commerce, made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Thomas Allen, print. [1837]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

1838

116. FEUCHTWANGER, LEWIS. A / Treatise on Gems, / in reference to their / Practical and Scientific Value; / A useful guide for the jeweller, amateur, artist, lapidary, / mineralogist, and chemist. Accompanied by a de- / scription of the most interesting American / gems, and ornamental and arch- / itectural materials. / By Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger, / Chemist and Mineralogist, Member of the New York Lyceum of Natural History, and of the / Mineralogical Societies of Jena, Altenburg, etc. etc. / New-York: / Printed by A. Hanford. / 1838.

8vo, pp. 162. EW2.

117. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* Elements / of / Physics; / or, / Natural Philosophy, / General and Medical: / written for / universal use, / in / Plain or Non-Technical Language; / and containing / new disquisitions and practical suggestions. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. / By Neil Arnott, M.D., / of the Royal College of Physicians. / Fourth American, from the Fifth English Edition, / With Additions, / By Isaac Hays, M.D. / Philadelphia: / Lea & Blanchard, / Successors to Carey & Co. / 1838.

8vo, pp. 592. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1839

118. JUDAH, SAMUEL, and PARKER, SAMUEL W. Speeches / of Samuel Judah, of Knox, / and S. W. Parker, of Fayette Counties, / in answer

to the charge of / Amos Lane, of Dearborn County, / that the internal improvement system was a Democratic Whig measure. [1839?]

8vo, pp. 14. Indiana State Library.

119. [LEVY, E.] The Republican Bank: / being / An Essay / on the Present System of / Banking: / showing its evil tendency and developing an entire- / ly new method of establishing a currency, / which will not be at all subject / to the various ill effects / of our present / paper money. / By / A Citizen of Indiana. / Price 25 Cts. / Madison: / Printed by W. H. Webb — Banner Office. / 1839.

8vo, pp. 24, with wrappers. This was included in error; it is Rosenbach 448. Indiana State Library.

120. [LEVY, MOSES E.] 25th Congress, / 3d Session. / Rep. No. 236. / Ho. of Reps. / Moses E. Levy. / January 26, 1839. / Read, and laid upon the table. / Mr. Saltonstall, from the Committee of Claims, submitted the fol- / lowing / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Thomas Allen, print. [1839]

8vo, pp. 2. Concerning the claim of Levy for the destruction of his property by United States troops during the Indian War in Florida. LCP.

121. [LEVY, NATHAN.] 25th Congress, / 3d Session. / Rep. No. 238. / Ho. of Reps. / Nathan Levy. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 1099.] / February 6, 1839. / Mr. Cushman, from the Committee on Commerce, made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Thomas Allen, print. [1839]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

# 1840

122. BENJAMIN, JUDAH P., and SLIDELL, THOMAS. Digest / of the / Reported Decisions / of the / Superior Court of the Late Territory of / Orleans, / and of the Supreme Court / of the / State of Louisiana. / Originally compiled by / J. P. Benjamin and T. Slidell, Attorneys at Law, / and now revised and enlarged by / Thomas Slidell. / New Orleans: / E. Johns & Co., Stationers' Hall: / 1840.

8vo, pp. xii, 758. Howard-Tilton Memorial Library.

123. CHARLESTON, CITIZENS. Proceedings / of a / Public Meeting of the Citizens of Charleston, / held at the City Hall, / on the 28th August, 1840; / in relation to the / Persecution of the Jews / in the East. / Also, / the proceedings of a meeting / of the / Israelites of Charleston, / convened at the / Hall of the Hebrew Orphan Society, / on the following evening, / in reference to the same subject. / Charleston: / Hayden & Burke, Printers, 3 Gillon-Street. / 1840.

8vo, pp. 32. HUC.

124. [COHEN, JACOB.] 26th Congress, / 1st Session. / Rep. No. 233. / Ho. of Reps. / Heirs of Jacob Cohen. / March 5, 1840. / Laid on the table. / Mr. Ely, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, made the fol- / lowing / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, Printers. [1840]

8vo, p. 1. Rejection of the claim of the heirs of Jacob Cohen of Virginia for five years' pay as captain of cavalry in the Continental Army. LCP.

125. [LEVY, NATHAN.] 26th Congress, / 1st Session. / Rep. No. 72. / Ho. of Reps. / Nathan Levy. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 59.] / March 3, 1840: / Mr. Toland, from the Committee on Commerce, made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1840]

8vo, pp. 2. Ordering refund to Nathan Levy, of Boston, of payment made to seamen of disabled vessel. LCP.

126. M'GAUGHEY, EDWARD, PARKER, SAMUEL W., and JUDAH, SAMUEL. Speeches / of / Edward M'Gaughey, of Putnam, Samuel W. Parker, of / Fayette and Samuel Judah of Knox. / [Indianapolis: 1840?]

8vo, pp. 23. Indiana State Library.

127. PEIXOTTO, SIMHA C. Elementary Introduction / to the / Scriptures, / for the / Use of Hebrew Children. / By / Simha C. Peixotto. / [two-line quotation from Proverbs] / Philadelphia: / Printed by Haswell, Barrington, and Haswell. / 5600 [1840].

12mo, pp. 196. EW2.

127a. PHILLIPS, PHILIP. Digest of Cases / decided and reported in / the Supreme Court of the State of Alabama, / from / 1st Alabama Reports to 7th Porter inclusive; / with the / Rules of Court and Practice, / and / a Table of Titles and Cases; to which are appended, / the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution of the United / States; the Act to enable the People of Alabama to form / a Constitution and State Government, etc.; the / Constitution of the State of Alabama; / and the Fee Bill established / by Law. / By P. Phillips, / Counsellor at Law. / [3-line quotation] / Mobile: / Printed and Published by R. R. Dade and J. S. Kellogg & Co. / 1840.

8vo, pp. xlviii, 9-350. Circuit Court Library, Birmingham, Alabama.

128. UNITED STATES, CONGRESS, SENATE. 26th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / [437] / In Senate of the United States. / April 28, 1840. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Hubbard made the following / Report: / The Committee of Claims, to whom was referred the memorial of Susan / Murphy, report: / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1840]

8vo, pp. 7. David Levy was attorney for the memorialist. LCP.

## 1841

129. HACKENBURG, JUDAH L., ALLEN, LEWIS, LEESER, ISAAC, ET AL. Circular. / Philadelphia, Ab, 5601, July, 1841. / To the President and Members of Congregation at / the Israelites of Philadelphia, send greeting. / Brethren! / . . . / J. L. Hackenburg, / Lewis Allen, / Isaac Leeser, / Simon Elfelt, / Mayer Arnold, / Henry Cohen, / Jacob Ulman. / Committee. [Philadelphia: 1841.]

Folio, pp. 3. A call for a union of the Hebrew congregations of the United States. EW2.

130. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* Elements / of / Physics; / or, / Natural Philosophy, / General and Medical: / written for / universal use, / in / plain or non-technical language; / and containing / new disquisitions and practical suggestions. / Comprised in Five Parts, 1st, Somatology, Statics, / and Dynamics. / 2nd, Mechanics. / 3rd, Pneumatics, Hydraulics, and / Acoustics. / 4th, Heat and Light. / 5th, Animal and

Medical Physics. / Complete in One Volume. / By Neil Arnott, M.D., / of the Royal College of Physicians. / A New Edition, revised and corrected from the last English Edition, / With Additions, / By Isaac Hays, M.D., / Philadelphia: / Lea & Blanchard. / 1841.

12mo, pp. 520, [16]. University of Pennsylvania.

131. [JUDAH, SAMUEL.] State of New-York. / No. 78. / In Assembly, / January 27, 1841. / Communication / From the Governor, transmitting a resolution of the / General Assembly of Indiana, relative to an / amendment to the Constitution of the United / States. / . . . / [Albany: 1841.]

8vo, pp. 2. Signed by Samuel Judah as Speaker of the Indiana House. HUC.

132. ———. / 26th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [197] / Resolutions / of / the General Assembly of Indiana, / in relation / To the completion of the Cumberland Road. / February 17, 1841. / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1841]

8vo, pp. 4. One of the resolutions was signed by Judah as Speaker of the Indiana House. LCP.

133. ———. / 26th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [207] / Resolutions / of / the General Assembly of Indiana, / in relation / To the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. / February 22, 1841. / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1841]

8vo, pp. 3. One of the resolutions was signed by Judah as Speaker of the Indiana House. LCP.

134. ———. 26th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [208] / Resolution / of / The General Assembly of Indiana, / on the subject / Of raising revenue by duties on foreign goods. / February 22, 1841. / . . . / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1841]

8vo, p. 1. Signed by Judah as Speaker of the Indiana House. LCP.

135. ———. 26th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [209] / Resolutions / of / the General Assembly of Indiana, / in relation / To the bill "to establish a permanent prospective pre-emption system in / favor of settlers on the public lands who shall inhabit and cultivate

the / same, and raise a log-cabin thereon." / February 22, 1841. /  
... / [Washington:] Blair & Rives, printers. [1841]

8vo, p. 1. Signed by Judah as Speaker of the Indiana House. LCP.

136. LEVY, DAVID. Speech / of / Mr. Levy, of Florida, / on his motion /  
To postpone to the next session the consideration of the report and  
reso- / lution of the Committee of Elections respecting his eligibility to  
a seat / as Delegate. Delivered September 6, 1841. / ... / [Washing-  
ton: 1841.]

8vo, pp. 7. HUC.

137. ——— . 27th Congress, / 1st Session. / Res. No. 1. / Ho. of  
Reps. / Seminole Indians. / July 29, 1841. / Read, laid upon the  
table, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Levy submitted the following /  
Resolutions. / ... [Washington, 1841.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

138. ——— . / 27th Congress, / 1st Session. / Rep. No. 10. / Ho. of  
Reps. / David Levy. / September 3, 1841. / Read, and laid upon the  
table. / Mr. Halsted, from the Committee of Elections, submitted the  
following / Report: / ... [Washington: 1841.]

8vo, pp. 45. Concerning the right of David Levy (Yulee) to a seat  
in the House of Representatives. EW2.

139. LIPMAN, HYMEN L. Diary, / for / 1842: / or / Daily Register, /  
for the use of / private families, / and / Persons of Business: / con-  
taining / a blank for every day in the year, for the record / of events  
that may be interesting, / either past or future. / Published yearly, /  
By Hymen L. Lipman, / (successor to Samuel M. Stewart,) / Stationer  
& Blank Book Binder, / No. 139 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia [1841]

12mo, pp. 126. HUC.

140. [MORDECAI, ALFRED.] Ordnance Manual / for / The Use of the  
Officers / of the / United States Army. / Washington: / J. and G. S.  
Gideon, Printers. / 1841.

8vo, pp. xi, 359, and 15 plates. LCP.

141. ——— . / 26th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [229] / Doc-  
uments / relating / To the improvements of the system of artillery. /



March 2, 1841. / Submitted by Mr. Benton, and ordered to be printed. / . . . / [Washington: 1841.]

8vo, pp. 111. Captain Alfred Mordecai was one of four Ordnance officers who wrote the report. LCP.

1842

142. [ANLEY, CHARLOTTE.] Miriam; / or, / The Power of Truth. / A Jewish Tale. / By the Author of "Influence." / A new Edition, Revised and Improved, / with an / Introduction / by / Rev. John Todd, / . . . / Philadelphia: / Griffith & Simon, 188 North Third Street, / and / 384 North Second Street. / 1842.

12mo, pp. 292. AAS.

143. [COHEN, JACOB.] 27th Congress, / 2d Session. / Rep. No. 371. / Ho. of Reps. / Representatives of Jacob Cohen. / March 8, 1842. / Laid upon the table. / Mr. Hall, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, made the following adverse / Report: / . . . [Washington, 1842.]

8vo, pp. 3. LCP.

144. [JUDAH, SAMUEL BENJAMIN HALBERT.] Spirit / of / Fanaticism: / A / Poetical Rhapsody. / [*four-line quotation*] / New-York: / Published at the "Beacon" Office, / 94 Roosevelt-Street. / 1842.

12mo, pp. 12. EW2.

145. [LEVY, DAVID.] 27th Congress, / 2d Session. / Rep. No. 450. / Ho. of Reps. / David Levy. / March 15, 1842, / Read, and laid upon the table. / Mr. Barton, from the Committee of Elections, to which the subject had / been referred, submitted the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington, 1842.]

8vo, pp. 154, 6, 3. Concerning the right of David Levy (Yulee) of Florida to his seat in the House of Representatives. EW2.

146. ———. / 27th Congress, / 3d Session. / Doc. No. 15. / Ho. of Reps. / Florida Contested Election. / December 14, 1842. / Laid upon the table. / . . . [Washington, 1842.]

8vo, pp. 13. LCP.

147. [LEVY, SARAH.] 27th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [44] / In the Senate of the United States. / January 11, 1842. / Ordered to be printed. / Mr. Smith, of Indiana, submitted the following / Report: / The Committee on Public Lands, to whom were referred the petition and papers of Sarah Levy, of Camden, South Carolina, report: / . . . / [Washington:] Thomas Allen, print. [1842]

8vo, p. 1. Concerning the claim of Sarah Levy to the right of pre-emption of land in Mississippi occupied and cultivated by her son, Col. Chapman Levy. LCP.

148. [LYON, ABRAHAM.] 27th Congress, / 2d Session. / Rep. No. 257. / Ho. of Reps. / Abraham Lyon. / February 26, 1842. / Read, and laid upon the table. / Mr. Jones, of Maryland, from the Committee on Invalid Pensions, submitted the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington: 1842.]

8vo, p. 1. Turning down the petition of Abraham Lyon, of Springfield, Clark County, Ohio, for an increase of pension because of wounds suffered in military service. LCP.

149. LYONS, MORDECAI, and HART, THOMAS. Catalogue / of a Rare and Valuable Collection / of fine modern and old / Engravings, / the various masters of the celebrated / schools, / Rare Etchings & Original Drawings, / and / Curious & Rare Old Works, Illustrated. / The greater part of this collection has been / lately collected in Europe. / Lyons & Hart, Auctioneers, / will sell on / Friday and Saturday Evenings, Oct. 7th and 8th, / at seven o'clock, / at their / Public Sale Rooms, / N. E. Corner of Chesnut and Fourth Streets. — Up Stairs, / . . . / "United States" Job Printing Office, Ledger Building [sic], Philad'a [1842].

8vo, pp. 24. LCP.

150. ———. Catalogue / of a / very valuable collection / of old line / Engravings, Etchings, / Fac-similes, Mezzotintos, Drawings, / and / Books on the Arts, / collected during many years, for the pleasure and / improvement of the owner. / Lyons & Hart, Auctioneers, / will sell on / Friday Evening, 30th inst., & Saturday, Oct. 1st, / at seven o'clock, / at their / Public Sale Rooms, / N. E. Corner of Chesnut

and Fourth Streets. — Up Stairs. / . . . / "United States" Job Printing Office, Ledger Builing [sic], Philad'a [1842].

8vo, pp. 16. LCP.

1843

151. BISHOP, MARGARET L. An Answer / to the / Prevalent Inquiry / "What Strange Doctrine is This?" / In Three Chapters. / By Margaret L. Bishop, / Native of Scotland. / Member of the Society surnamed Israelites. / New York: / Printed at the Herald Printing Establishment, 97 Nassau Street / 1843.

8vo, pp. 16. HUC.

152a. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* A / Treatise / on the / Diseases of the Eye. / By / W. Lawrence, F. R. S. / [*four lines of titles*] / From the last London Edition, / with numerous additions, and / Sixty-Seven Illustrations. / By Isaac Hays, M.D., / Surgeon to Will's Hospital, Physician to the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum, / Member of the American Philosophical Society, &c., &c., &c. / Philadelphia: / Lea & Blanchard. / 1843.

8vo, pp. 778. EW2.

152. PYKE, E. Scriptural Questions. / for the / Use of Sunday Schools / for / the Instruction of Israelites. / Compiled / by E. Pyke. / Philadelphia: / Printed by L. R. Bailey, 26 North Fifth Street. / 1843.

12mo, pp. 18. American Jewish Historical Society.

153. TENTLER, AARON A. A / New System / for / Measuring and Cutting / Ladies' Dresses. / Cloaks, Collars, Capes, Yokes, &c. / with an / Arithmetical Table, / For which the Author received a Patent from the United States. / By Aaron A. Tentler. / New-York: / Robert Craighead, Printer, 112 Fulton Street, / 1843.

12mo, pp. 18. Copyrighted in Philadelphia in 1842. EW2.

1844

154. [CARDOZA, SARAH.] 28th Congress, / 1st Session, / [Senate.] / [327] / In Senate of the United States. / May 6, 1844. / Submitted,

and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Bates made the following / Report: /  
... [Washington, 1844.]

8vo, p. 1. Denying the petition of Sarah Cardoza for the increase  
of her pension. LCP.

155. GRESSON, WARDER. Jerusalem / the / Centre and Joy / of / The  
Whole Earth / and / The Jew / The Recipient of the Glory of God /  
[*six lines of quotations*] / By Warder Cresson / Philadelphia: / Jesper  
Harding, Printer / 1844

12mo, pp. 111. Abraham Karp.

156. MORDECAI, ALFRED, Third Report / of / Meteorological Observa-  
tions, / made at / Frankford Arsenal, near Philadelphia. / By Captain  
Alfred Mordecai, / of the United States Ordnance Department. / 1844.

4to, pp. 8. Copy formerly in possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach,  
now unlocated.

1845

157. AMERICAN JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY. Circular, / of the Amer-  
ican Jewish Publication Society, to the Friends of Jewish Literature. /  
... / Philadelphia, / Decr. 10, 1845. / Kislev 11, 5606. / Isaac Leiser, /  
Corresponding Secretary of the American Jewish Publication Society.  
[Philadelphia: 1845]

4to, broadside. Dropsie College.

158. ———. Constitution / and / By-Laws / of the / American Jew-  
ish Publication / Society. / (Founded on the 9th of Heshvan, 5606.) /  
Adopted at Philadelphia, / on Sunday, November 30, 1845, Kislev 1,  
5606. / Philadelphia: / C. Sherman, Printer. / 5606 [1845].

12mo, pp. 11. EW2.

159. CASTANIS, C. PLATO. A / Love Tale. / The / Jewish Maiden of  
Scio's Citadel, / or / The Eastern Star, / and / The Albanian Chief. /  
By / C. Plato Castanis, / of Scio, Greece. / Author of An Essay on  
Ancient and Modern Greek Languages; / Interpretations of the  
Attributes of the Principal Fabulous Deities, / and The Exile of  
Scio. / Second Edition. / Copy-right secured. / Philergomathia: /  
1845. / Price, 12½ Cents.

8vo, pp. 24, (1). HUC.

160. A / Compendium / of / Jewish History. / Boston: / A. Tompkins, 38 Cornhill. / 1845.

12mo, pp. 50. HUC.

161. MORDECAI, ALFRED. Report / of / Experiments on Gunpowder, / made at / Washington Arsenal, / in / 1843 and 1844. / By / Captain Alfred Mordecai, / of the Ordnance Department. / Washington: / Printed by J. and G. S. Gideon, / 1845.

8vo, pp. viii, 328, and six plates. EW2.

1846

162. [DE LEON, M. H.] 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / [236] / In Senate of the United States. / March 18, 1846. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Ashley made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1846]

8vo, p. 1. Approving the memorial of M. H. De Leon, as executor of Thomas Cooper, for reimbursement of a fine imposed under the Sedition Act of 1798. LCP.

163. [ETTING, HENRY.] 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / [110] / In Senate of the United States. / February 3, 1846. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Fairfield made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1846]

8vo, p. 1. Approving claim of Henry Etting for legal expenses connected with suit brought by him for damages incurred while he was purser in the United States Navy at Pensacola in 1838. LCP.

164. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* A / Dictionary / of / Terms Used in Medicine / and the Collateral Sciences. / By / Richard D. Hoblyn, A. M. Oxon. / First American, from the Second London, Edition. / Revised, with numerous additions, / By Isaac Hays, M.D., / Editor of the American Journal of the Medical Sciences. / Philadelphia: / Lea & Blanchard. / 1846.

12mo, pp. 402 [8]. University of Pennsylvania.

165. LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES. 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / Rep. No. 253. / Ho. of Reps. / Dry Dock. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 216.] / February 12, 1846. / Mr. Levin, from the Committee on Commerce,

made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1846].

8vo, pp. 4. LCP.

166. ———. Speech / of / Hon. L. C. Levin, of Pennsylvania, / on the / Oregon Question. / In the House of Representatives, January 9, 1846 — . . . / [Washington, 1846]

8vo, pp. 8. LCP.

167. ———. Speech / of / Mr. L. C. Levin, of Pennsylvania, / on the bill to raise / A Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. / Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, April 7, 1846. / Washington: / J. & G. S. Gideon, Printers. / 1846.

8vo, pp. 16. LCP.

168. NEW YORK, GEMILETH CHESED. State of New-York. / No. 62. / In Assembly, / January 22, 1846. / Introduced on notice by Mr. Stevenson, read twice, and referred to the / committee on charitable and religious societies; reported from said committee, / and committed to the committee of the whole. / An Act / To incorporate the Gemileth Chesed or Hebrew Mutual Benefit Society of the city of New-York. / . . . / [Albany: 1846]

Folio, pp. 2. HUC.

169. ———, HEBREW ASSISTANCE SOCIETY. State of New-York. / No. 243. / In Assembly, / February 24, 1846. / Reported by Mr. Fleet, from the committee on charitable and religious societies — read twice, and committed to the committee of the whole. / An Act / For the incorporation of the New-York Hebrew Assistance Society, for the relief of Widows and Orphans. / . . . / [Albany: 1846.]

Folio, pp. 2. HUC.

170. [PAGE, BEN.] The / Doctrines / of / Spinoza and Swedenborg / Identified; / so far as they claim a scientific ground. / In / four letters. / By \*\*\* / United States Army. / Boston: / Published by Munroe and Francis. / New York: / Charles S. Francis & Co. / 1846.

8vo, pp. 36. HUC.

171. PHILADELPHIA, GERMAN HEBREW FEMALE BENEVOLENT SOCIETY. Hebrew Ball, / in aid of the / German / Hebrew Female Benevolent Society, / at the / Chinese Museum, Upper Saloon, / with Bazaar Fixtures, / Wednesday Evening, January 28, 1846. / . . . [Philadelphia, 1846.]

8vo, broadside. Invitation, printed in gold. EW2.

172. RICHMOND, BETH SHALOME. "קהל קדוש בית שלום" / To our Contributor's and Israelitish Brethren of the State of Virginia: / Brethren: / The period is near at hand when we shall be called upon to elect a / Hazan of this Congregation, . . . / Jacob A. Levy, / Henry Hyman, / Jacob Ezekiel. / Trustees. / Richmond, August 10th, 1846. / Menachem 18th, 5606. / [Richmond: 1846.]

4to, broadside. HUC (Ezekiel Scrapbook).

173. SUE, EUGENE. Der ewige Jude / von / Eugen Sue. / Erste amerikanisch-deutsche Ausgabe. / [four-line quotation] / Erster [-Zweiter] Band. / Philadelphia, 1846. / Herausgegeben von L. A. Wollenweber No. 277 Nord Dritte Strasse.

2 vols., 8vo, pp. v. 513; 576, (1). EW2.

174. YULEE, DAVID [LEVY]. 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / [126] / In Senate of the United States. / February 11, 1846. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 81.] / The Committee on Private Land Claims, to whom was referred the petition of Benjamin Ballard, report: / . . . [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1846]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

175. ———. 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / [240] / In Senate of the United States. / March 23, 1846. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 129.] / The Committee on Private Land Claims, to whom was referred the petition of Robert Barclay, of the State of Missouri, report: / . . . [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1846]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

176. ———. 29th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate]. / [328] / In Senate of the United States. / May 4, 1846. / Ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee submitted the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 173.] / The Committee on Private Land Claims, to whom was referred the peti- / tion of William Pumphrey, report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, printers. [1846]  
8vo, pp. 5. LCP.

1847

177. [DE LEON, M. H.] 29th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [180] / In Senate of the United States. / February 25, 1847. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Ashley made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1847]  
8vo, p. 1. Concerning the memorial of M. H. De Leon. LCP.

178. HAMMOND, R. P. Head Quarters. / Tampico Troops. / Tampico, Mexico, January 1st. 1847. / Orders. N<sup>o</sup> 15. / I. For the purpose of regulating the collection and disbursement of the pu- / blic revenue of Tampico, the following gentlemen to wit, Jose Maria Boeta, / Juan Haro, Juan G. Castilla, Henry Levi and P. B. Taylor will constitute a / municipal committee . . . / . . . / By order of Brig. Genl. Shields, / R. P. Hammond. / Assist. Adj. Genl. / . . . [Tampico, Mexico: 1847.]  
Folio, pp. 2. With Spanish translation. HUC.

179. HAYS, ISAAC, *ed.* The Principles and Practice / of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery. / By / T. Wharton Jones, F.R.S., / . . . with one hundred and two illustrations. / Edited / By Isaac Hays, M.D., / Surgeon to Wills Hospital, Etc. / Philadelphia: / Lea and Blanchard. / 1847.  
12mo, pp. xx, 509. MW.

180. ———. Report / Of the Committee appointed under the 6th Resolution, adopted / by the National Medical Convention which assembled in New / York, in May, 1846. [*cap. title*] [Philadelphia, 1847.]

8vo, pp. 12. Isaac Hays was a member of this committee to draw up a code of Medical Ethics. LCP.



181. ———. A Treatise / on the / Diseases of the Eye. / By / W. Lawrence, F.R.S., / [*four lines of titles*] / A New Edition. / Edited with Numerous Additions, and / One Hundred and Seventy-Six Illustrations, / By Isaac Hays, M.D., / Surgeon to Wills' Hospital; Physician to the Philadelphia Orphan Asylum; / Member of the American Philosophical Society; Fellow of the / College of Physicians, etc. etc. / Philadelphia: / Lea and Blanchard. / 1847.

8vo, pp. 859, 32. University of Pennsylvania.

182. TURNEY, HOPKINS L. Remarks / of / Hon. H. L. Turney, of Tennessee, / on the resolutions to / Expel the Editors and Reporter of the Washington / Union. / Delivered / In the Senate of the United States, February 12, 1847. / Washington: / Printed at the Office of Blair and Rives. / 1847.

8vo, pp. 8. The resolution had been offered by David Yulee. HUC.

183. YULEE, DAVID [LEVY]. 29th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [110] / Statement / of / Vessels in Distress at Key West, / from / January 1 to December 31, 1846. / February 3, 1847. / Submitted to the Senate by Mr. Yulee, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and ordered / to be printed. . . / Washington: / Ritchie & Heiss, Printers. / 1847.

8vo, pp. 5. LCP.

184. ———. 29th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [140] / In Senate of the United States. / February 8, 1847. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 153.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom were referred the petition and / documents of the late Andrew D. Crosby, a purser in the navy of the / United States. report: / . . . / [Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, print. [1847]

8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

185. ———. 29th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / [141] / In Senate of the United States. / February 8, 1847. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 154.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom were referred the petition and / documents of William A.

Christian, a purser in the navy of the United / States, report: / . . . /  
[Washington:] Ritchie & Heiss, printers. [1847]  
8vo, p. 1. LCP.

1848

186. BRUNETTI, ———. Description / of / the Model / of / Antient  
Jerusalem, / Illustrative of / the Sacred Scriptures / and the / Writ-  
ings of Josephus. / Boston: / N. Southard and Geo. Bliss. / 1848.  
12mo, pp. 36, folding plate. AAS.

187. CORDOVA, JACOB DE. Houston, Texas, September 24, 1848. /  
Sir: — / Many enquiries having been addressed to me within the  
last six / months respecting Texas Lands and the liquidation of the /  
Public Debt of Texas, . . . / . . . / [Houston: 1848.]  
8vo, pp. 15. LCP.

188. [HART, BENJAMIN F.] 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] /  
Rep. Com., / No. 157. / In Senate of the United States. / May 18,  
1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the  
following / Report: / [To accompany S. No. 267.] / The Committee  
on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memo- / rial of the  
representatives of Benjamin F. Hart, deceased, report: / . . . / [Wash-  
ington: 1848.]  
8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

189. [HAYS, ISAAC.] Code of Ethics / of the / American / Medical  
Association. / Adopted May 1847. / Philadelphia: / T. K. and P. G.  
Collins, Printers. / 1848.

8vo, pp. 30. Isaac Hays was chairman of the committee which  
reported the code to the National Medical Convention. LCP (presenta-  
tion copy from Hays to Dr. James Rush).

190. LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES. Speech / of / Mr. L. C. Levin, of Penn., /  
on / The Proposed Mission to Rome, / Delivered in the House of  
Representatives of the United States, March 2, 1848. / . . . / [Washing-  
ton:] J. & G. S. Gideon, Printers. [1848]  
8vo, pp. 16. LCP.

191. ———. Thirtieth Congress — First Session. / Report No. 106. / [To Accompany bill H. R. No. 96.] / House of Representatives. / Floating Docks, Basin, and Railways. / January 19, 1848. / Mr. Levin, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, made the fol- / lowing / Report: / . . . / [Washington: 1848]

8vo, pp. 7. LCP.

192. [MORDECAI, M. C.] Thirtieth Congress — First Session. / Ex. Doc. No. 51. / House of Representatives. / Mail from Charleston, Chagres, &c. / Letter / from / The Postmaster General, / transmitting / A copy of the contract made with M. C. Mordecai for taking the / United States mail from Charleston to Havana, . . . / [Washington: 1848.]

8vo, pp. 11. Mordecai was resident in Charleston, S. C. LCP.

193. NEW YORK, GERMAN HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY. German Hebrew Benev. Society. / Charity well applied, is a blessing as well to him who bestows as to him / who receives. / . . . / Henry Kayser, President, / Isaac Dittenhoefer, Vice-President, / Joseph Ochs, Treasurer, . . . / New York, October, 1848.

4to, broadside. Announcement of 5th anniversary dinner. Dropsie College.

194. ———. Fifth / Anniversary Dinner, / of the German / Hebrew Benevolent Society, / on Thursday Nov. 9th, 1848 at the / Apollo Saloons No. 410 B'way. / Dinner on Table at 6 o'clock.

16mo, card. Dropsie College.

195. RICHMOND, HEBREW SCHOOL FUND. Second Annual / Hebrew School Fund Ball, / in aid of the / Hebrew School Fund of the City of Richmond. / The pleasure of your company is respectfully solicited / at the Hebrew School Fund Ball, on Thursday Eve- / ning, February 10th, 1848, at the Exchange Hotel. / . . . / [Richmond: 1848.]

12mo, p. 1 (invitation). HUC.

196. [RUSSELL, ESTHER.] Thirtieth Congress — First Session. / Report No. 112. / (To accompany bill H. R. No. 101.) / House of Representatives. / Esther Russell. / January 19, 1848. / Mr. Donnell, from the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, / made the following / Re-

port: / The Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, to whom was referred / the petition of Esther Russell, praying for an increase of pen- / sion, report: / . . . / (Washington: 1848.)

8vo, pp. 3. The Committee was willing to report a bill to increase the pension of the widow of Philip M. Russell. LCP.

197. [SALOMON, HAYM M.] Thirtieth Congress — First Session. / Rep. No. 504. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 425.] / House of Representatives. / H. M. Salomon. / April 26, 1848. / Mr. Tallmadge, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, / made the following / Report: / The Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to whom was referred the / memorial of Haym M. Salomon, legal representative of Haym / Salomon, deceased, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1848.]

8vo, pp. 3. The Committee recommended the payment of Salomon's claim by a grant of public lands. LCP.

198. ———. 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 219. / In Senate of the United States. / July 28, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Bright made the following / Report: / The Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to whom was referred the / memorial of H. M. Salomon, "for indemnification for advances / of money made by his father during the revolutionary war," have / had the same under consideration, and respectfully report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyssen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 3. The Committee resolved that the claim was not sustained for lack of evidence. LCP.

199. YULEE, DAVID [LEVY]. 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Miscellaneous. / No. 6. / In Senate of the United States. / January 12, 1848. / Read, and ordered to be printed. / Amendment. / Proposed by Mr. Yulee to the resolutions submitted by Mr. Dickinson / on the 14th December, 1847, viz: . . . / . . . / [Washington:] Tippin & Streep, printers. [1848]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

200. ———. 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Miscellaneous. / No. 31. / In Senate of the United States. / January 18, 1848. / Read, referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be

printed. / Mr. Yulee submitted the following / Resolutions: / . . . / [Washington:] Tippin & Streeper, printers. [1848].

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

201. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 24. / In Senate of the United States. / January 12, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memo- / rial of William M. Glendy, respectfully report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyesen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

202. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 146. / In Senate of the United States. / May 5, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition / of Francis Martin, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyesen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

203. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 147. / In Senate of the United States. / May 5, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the me- / morial of John L. Worden, submit to the Senate the following re- / port from the Fourth Auditor in regard to this claim, and ask to be / discharged from its further consideration. / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyesen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 3. LCP.

204. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 148. / In Senate of the United States. / May 5, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the peti- / tion of John H. Williams, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyesen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

205. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 160. / In Senate of the United States. / May 29, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition / of John Baldwin, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyssen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 5. LCP.

206. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 161. / In Senate of the United States. / May 29, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition / of John Ericsson, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyssen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 3. LCP.

207. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 162. / In Senate of the United States. / May 29, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition / of Ann Kelly, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyssen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

208. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 163. / In Senate of the United States. / May 29, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred S. B. 214, / in addition to an act for the more equitable distribution of the / navy pension fund, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyssen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

209. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 164. / In Senate of the United States. / May 29, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the

petition / of Abel Grigg, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyzen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

210. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 170. / In Senate of the United States. / June 14, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 10.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom were referred the bill S. / 10, for the relief of John R. Bryan, administrator of Isaac Gar- / retson, deceased, late a purser in the United States navy, and the / petition of the administrator of said Garretson, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyzen, 1848.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

211. ——— . 30th Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 239. / In Senate of the United States. / August 10, 1848. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 348.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition / of Joseph K. Boyd, one of the petty officers of the ketch Intrepid, / under the command of Captain Stephen Decatur, at the time of / the destruction of the frigate Philadelphia, in the harbor of Tri- / poli, on the night of the 16th February, 1804, report: / . . . / [Washington: Wendell and Van Benthuyzen, 1848.]

8vo, pp. 4. LCP.

# 1849

212. BUSCH, ISIDOR. *Israels Herold. / Versuch / einer / Zeitschrift für Israeliten / in den / Vereinigten Staaten, / herausgegeben von / Isidor Busch, / April, Mai, Juni 1849. / 5609. / New-York. / Gedruckt bei J. Mühlhäuser, 231 Division-Str. [1849]*

8vo, pp. 96.

213. COHEN, B. W. *Cohen's / New Orleans and Lafayette / Directory, / (Including Algiers, Gretna and McDonoghville), / for / 1849, / Containing Twenty-one Thousand Names: / Also, / a Street and*

Levee Guide, / and Other Useful Information, / as will be seen by the Table of Contents. / Price, Three Dollars / New Orleans: / Printed by D. Davies & Son, / 60 Magazine Street. / 1849.

8vo, pp. 208, (7). AAS.

214. JUDAH, SAMUEL. The Vincennes University, / vs. / The State of Indiana. / Brief / of / Mr. Samuel Judah, / for the University, / in the / Supreme Court of Indiana, / in reply to the brief of Mr. Dunn, &c., / November Term, 1849. / Indianapolis: / Printed by John D. Defrees. / 1849.

8vo, pp. 13. Indiana State Library.

215. LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES. Thirtieth Congress — Second Session. / Report No. 102. / [To accompany bill S. No. 348.] / House of Representatives. / Mrs. Priscilla Decatur Twiggs. / February 14, 1849. / Mr. Levin, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, made the following Report: / . . . / [Washington: 1849.]

8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

216. MONTAGUE, EDWARD P., *ed.* Narrative / of the late / Expedition to the Dead Sea. / From a Diary / By one of the Party. / Edited by / Edward P. Montague, / attached to the United States Expedition Ship Supply. / With incidents and adventures from the time of the sailing / of the expedition in November, 1847, till the / return of the same in December, 1848. / Illustrated with a Map of the Holy Land / handsomely colored. / Philadelphia: / Carey and Hart. / 1849.

12mo, pp. xxiv, [13]—336, folding map. EW2.

216a. MORDECAI, ALFRED. Second Report / of / Experiments on Gunpowder, / Made at / Washington Arsenal, / in / 1845, '47, and '48. / By / Brevet Major Alfred Mordecai, / of the Ordnance Department. / Washington: / Printed by J. and G. S. Gideon. / 1849.

8vo, pp. (4), 71, and two plates. EW2.

217. YULEE, DAVID [LEVY]. 30th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., / No. 318. / In Senate of the United States. / February 22, 1849. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following Report: / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 507.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the bill / (H. R.



No. 507) for the relief of William Tee, of Portsmouth, / Virginia,  
report: / . . . / [Washington: 1849.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

218. ——— . 30th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., /  
No. 319. / In Senate of the United States. / February 22, 1849. / Sub-  
mitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following /  
Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the  
memo- / rial of the heirs of William Flannigan and William Parsons, /  
respectfully report: / . . . / [Washington: 1849.]

8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

219. ——— . 30th Congress, / 2d Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com., /  
No. 320. / In Senate of the United States. / February 23, 1849. /  
Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the follow-  
ing / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was re-  
ferred the petition / of James Colburn, respectfully report: / . . . /  
[Washington: 1849.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

# 1850

220. AGUILAR, GRACE. The Vale of Cedars; / or, / The Martyr. / By  
Grace Aguilar, / Author of "Home Influence," "Woman's Friend-  
ship," etc. / [*two-line quotation from Byron*] / New-York: / D. Appleton  
& Company, 200 Broadway. / Philadelphia: / Geo. S. Appleton, 164  
Chesnut-St. / 1850.

12mo, pp. 256, (8). EW2.

221. CLEMEN, ROBERT. Geschichte / der / Inquisition in Spanien /  
von / Robert Clemen. / Erster Band. / Columbus, Ohio. / Gedruckt  
bei Scott u. Bascom. / 1850.

8vo, pp. xvi, 400. Three volumes in one, continuous pagination.  
MW.

221a. [HAYS, ISAAC.] Code of Ethics / of the / American / Medical  
Association, / Adopted May, 1847. / Concord: / Printed by Asa  
McFarland. / 1850.

12mo, pp. 15. EW2.

222. LEVIN, LEWIS CHARLES. 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / Rep. No. 440. / Ho. of Reps. / Joseph Radcliff. / [To accompany bill H. R. No. 370.] / August 1, 1850. / Mr. Levin, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, made the following / Report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

8vo, pp. 4. LCP.

223. LIPMAN, HYMEN L. Catalogue / of the stock of fine / Stationery, / &c., &c., / to be sold at public sale, / On Tuesday Morning, the 29th January, 1850, / at 10 o'clock precisely, / at the Store of Mr. Hymen L. Lipman, / No. 139 Chesnut Street, / West of Delaware Fourth St., Philadelphia / [seven lines] / C. J. Wolpert & Co., Auct'rs. / Philadelphia: / United States Book and Job Printing Office, Ledger Building. / 1850.

8vo, pp. 28. AAS.

224. [MORDECAI, ALFRED.] The / Ordnance Manual / for / The Use of the Officers / of the / United States Army. / Second Edition. / Washington: / Gideon & Co., Printers. / 1850.

8vo, pp. xxiv, 475, and 19 plates. Compiled by Captain Alfred Mordecai. LCP.

225. NEW ORLEANS, NEFUTSOTH JEHUDAH. Order of Service / at the / Consecration / of the / Synagogue Nefutsoth Jehudah / of / New-Orleans, / on / Tuesday, May 14th, 1850. [5610] / New Orleans: / Joseph Cohn, Printer, / 31 Poydras Street. / 1850.

12mo, pp. 8. MW.

226. NEW YORK, HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETY. New York, October 15th, 1850. / Sir, / We have the pleasure to inform you that agreeably to the provisions of / our Constitution and By-Laws, our Society will celebrate its Twenty-ninth / Anniversary, at the Chinese Rooms, on Thursday Evening, November the 7th, / . . . / M. M. Noah, President, 109 Bank-st., / H. Aronson, Vice President, 79 William-st., / John Levy, Treasurer, 134 William-st., / . . .

4to, broadside. Announcing plans for the establishment of a Jewish Hospital. Dropsie College.

227. [SALOMON, HAYM M.] 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 177. / In Senate of the United States. / August 9, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Walker made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 310.] / The Committee on Revolutionary Claims, to whom was referred the memorial of H. M. Salomon, for indemnification for advances of money / made by his father during the revolutionary war . . . / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

8vo, pp. 7. LCP.

228. YULEE, DAVID [LEVY.] 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 18. / In Senate of the United States. / January 28, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / George Harvy, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

8vo, p. 1. LCP.

229. ———. 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 54. / In Senate of the United States. / February 15, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 113.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / John Crosby, administrator of Andrew D. Crosby, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

8vo, pp. 2. LCP.

230. ———. 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 55. / In Senate of the United States. / February 15, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / William A. Christian, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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231. ———. 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 57. / In Senate of the United States. / February 18, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following /

Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / John Peirce, jr., report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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232. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 58. / In Senate of the United States. / February 18, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / Charles Coburn, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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233. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 59. / In Senate of the United States. / February 18, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of / Wm. D. Aiken and Julia his wife, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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234. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 60. / In Senate of the United States. / February 18, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / [To accompany bill S. No. 118.] / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / James McMcIntosh [*sic*], report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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235. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 66. / In Senate of the United States. / February 21, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom were referred the documents in / relation to the claim of Purser Francis B. Stockton for the allowance / of expenses incurred in going to London by order of his commanding / officer, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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236. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 67. / In Senate of the United States. / February 21, 1850. / Sub-

mitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom were referred certain docu- / ments, in relation to the claim of Purser Francis B. Stockton for the / allowance of expenses of a ball given on board the United States frigate / St. Lawrence, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

8vo, pp. 4. LCP.

237. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 68. / In Senate of the United States. / February 21, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of / William H. Burns, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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238. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 69. / In Senate of the United States. / February 21, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the memorial of / Margaret Carmick, widow of Major Carmick, late of the United States / marine corps, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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239. ——— . 31st Congress, / 1st Session. / [Senate.] / Rep. Com. / No. 74. / In Senate of the United States. / February 25, 1850. / Submitted, and ordered to be printed. / Mr. Yulee made the following / Report: / The Committee on Naval Affairs, to whom was referred the petition of / John S. Van Dyke, report: / . . . / [Washington: 1850.]

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# The Motivation of the German Jewish Emigration to America in the Post-Mendelssohnian Era

SELMA STERN-TAEUBLER

FEW are the sources in either German Jewish or American Jewish historiography to explain why, during the two decades following the Napoleonic wars, young Jews emigrated from Germany in considerable numbers, despite the fact that for German Jewry these two decades constituted a period of hitherto unprecedented spiritual, cultural, and economic development. In its eagerness to throw light on the problems of emancipation and assimilation characteristic of that period, or to describe the conflict between Orthodoxy and Reform, German Jewish historiography has paid scant attention to the question of emigration. The emigrant undertone was drowned out by the loud clamor of the speeches delivered at that time in the assemblies (*Ständerversammlungen*) of the various states or in the rabbinical synods.

The emigrants themselves, from whom we have an array of autobiographies and memoirs, left only meager accounts of their youth in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Rarely did they go beyond a brief

Dr. Selma Stern-Taeubler, Archivist Emeritus of the American Jewish Archives, is the most distinguished living historian of German Jewry and a novelist of sensitive perception.

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews: 1775-1865*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1955).

description of their native town, their family life, their religious and secular education, and their occupation. Moreover, they wrote their memoirs when they were old men, completely rooted in the New World. Filled with the desire to render to themselves and their children an account of their eventful and successful, often adventurous lives, they were too harassed by the abundance of changing scenes to find time for critical introspection and self-examination, or even to ponder what spiritual and moral forces had at one time shaped them.

Only one man, the son of Herman Cone, the founder of the Cone Mill in Greensboro, N. C., in a biography describing his father's lifework, has spoken of the "vitalizing heritage" which the elder Cone brought to America as an "intangible possession" when, at the age of seventeen, he left his native Bavaria (1846).<sup>2</sup> This spiritual heritage consisted of a single letter which a close relative handed to the young emigrant. The letter exhorted Herman to lead a pure and pious life in the foreign land — an exhortation reminiscent of the moralistic tracts and ethical wills of medieval sages, but written in a language that borrowed its pathos from Schiller and its solemnity from Klopstock.

In view of this dearth of sources, we ourselves must attempt to establish the links which connect North Carolina with Bavaria, Pennsylvania with Hesse, California with Baden, Mississippi with the Palatinate, and Maine with Posen, in order to fathom the causes of emigration, and, simultaneously, to discover that spiritual heritage which, as William Cone maintained, decisively influenced the thoughts and actions of his father.

At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, German Jewry had undergone an extreme political and social revolution and a considerable change in its view of

<sup>2</sup> William Cone, "Biography of Herman Cone" (copy in the American Jewish Archives).



the world. In the name of humanity, tolerance, and freedom of thought and conscience, German Jewry had been promised the restoration of its innate, inalienable, and sacred human rights. In the name of reason and of the Enlightenment, the Jews had been exposed to the spiritual ideas of their time, the most brilliant and the richest which Germany ever produced. In the name of the pedagogic gospel of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, the portals of the secular schools and universities had been opened to them. In the name of natural law, which had burst the bounds of feudal society and dissolved the privileges of the ruling classes, the cause of their civil improvement and the termination of their separate existence had been espoused.<sup>3</sup>

The French Revolution, which brought the ideas of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment to their utmost culmination, proclaimed as its fundamental principle the equality of all men before the law. As a logical consequence, the Paris National Assembly emancipated the Jews of France in September, 1791. When the revolutionary armies included the areas on the left bank of the Rhine as new *départements* in the new republic, and when Napoleon founded the Confederation of the Rhine, the Jews of these states, too, became citizens of the French Empire. In the newly created Kingdom of Westphalia, their equality was proclaimed; Frankfurt granted them civil rights in 1810; the Hanseatic cities in 1811.<sup>4</sup> The Jews of the Grand Duchy of Baden, also a member of the Confederation of the Rhine, were similarly declared free hereditary citizens of the state (*erbfreie*

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Dilthey, "Das 18. Jahrhundert und die geschichtliche Welt," *Gesammelte Schriften*, III (Leipzig, 1927); Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich and Berlin, 1936); Karl Vietor, *Deutsches Dichten und Denken von der Aufklärung bis zum Realismus* (Berlin, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Horwitz, *Die Israeliten unter dem Königreich Westfalen* (Berlin, 1900); Felix Lazarus, *Das königlich-westfälische Konsistorium der Israeliten* (Pressburg, 1914); Adolf Kober, *Cologne* (Philadelphia, 1940); I. Kracauer, *Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt a. M.* (Frankfurt, 1927), II.

*Staatsbürger*); an edict of January 13, 1809, created the Supreme Council of the Israelites (*Oberrat der Israeliten*), whose task it became to reform the education of youth, to guide its vocational adjustment, and — by assimilating it with the surrounding world culturally and spiritually — to prepare it for complete civil equality.<sup>5</sup>

For the economically strongest and intellectually most enlightened Jews of all, those of Prussia, who had for years passionately fought for their civil improvement, the edict of 1812 removed the concept of protected Jewry (*Schutzjudentum*). Foreigners and tolerated persons (*Geduldete*) became natives (*Einländer*) and citizens (*Staatsbürger*). The burden of special taxes and Jews' taxes (*Judenabgaben*) was lifted, and the principle was proclaimed that Jews should enjoy the same rights and liberties as Christians.<sup>6</sup>

The overthrow of Napoleon, the restoration of the old "legitimate" regimes, the victory of the Holy Alliance, and the tendencies of the Restoration resulted almost everywhere in the cancellation of the civil rights which the Jews had been granted. In Frankfurt, in Mainz, in the states of the Rhenish Confederation, the last hope for the promised liberty and equality disappeared with the re-establishment of the old order. The ambiguous formula of the Congress of Vienna concerning the future constitutional basis of the Jews in Germany was an equally clear indication of the changed attitude of those in power. This attitude was also evident in the twenty different *Judenverfassungen* of the Prussian provinces — *Verfassungen*, constitutions, which contained a multiplicity of restrictive clauses.

<sup>5</sup> Berthold Rosenthal, *Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden* (Bühl, 1927); A. Lewin, *Geschichte der badischen Juden seit der Regierung Karl Friedrichs* (Karlsruhe, 1909); Selma Stern-Taeubler, "Die Emanzipation der Juden in Baden," *Gedenkbuch zum 125. Bestehen des Oberrats der Israeliten Badens* (Frankfurt, 1934).

<sup>6</sup> Ismar Freund, *Die Emanzipation der Juden in Preussen* (Berlin, 1912).

This was particularly true of the constitution of the province of Posen, whose large Jewish population was divided into two classes, "naturalized inhabitants and those who are not yet fit to receive the rights of the projected naturalized class."

This change in the governmental policies towards the Jews was not only a reaction against Jewish political and economic emancipation, a reaction associated with the governmental revolt against the Napoleonic innovations. A reaction no less spiritual than political, it documented the profound change of thought marking this period's transition from the cosmopolitan-humanist attitude towards life which the eighteenth century had evinced to the romantic-national world philosophy of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the clear-minded Deism of the Enlightenment and the serene Hellenistic life-ideal of the classics, a religious hypertension arose. This hypertension, born of the romantic spirit and nourished by the political upheavals attendant on the wars of liberation, resulted in a mutual impregnation and curious intermixture of primitive Christian and Germanic notions, of Puritan and Teutonic ideas, of nationalistic and pietistic-mystical beliefs. It was then that the concept of the "Christian-Germanic" or "German-Christian" state arose.<sup>7</sup>

The men of the French Revolution had envisaged the state as a purely rational instrument. But for the romanticists the state was created not by men but by God himself. It was a Christian monarchy in which the legal, constitutional, and economic structure was grounded on the principles of Chris-

<sup>7</sup> H. von Sybel, "Die christlich-germanische Staatslehre," *Kleine Schriften*, I (Stuttgart, 1880-1891); E. Muesebeck, "Die ursprünglichen Grundlagen des Liberalismus und Konservatismus in Deutschland," *Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Altertumsvereine*, Jahrgang 63 (1915); R. Stammeler, *Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1928); J. Baxa, *Einführung in die romantische Staatswissenschaft* (Jena, 1923).

tianity, and in which religion, people, and government were to form a single unity.

The generation of the Enlightenment had been able to believe in a synthesis of Germanism and Judaism because its broad humanitarian ideal of culture coincided with the demand for social and civil equality for the Jews. From their universalistic standpoint, the question of emancipation had been not so much a question of the Jews as a question of humanity. On the other hand, for the generation of romanticism, a generation which sought the emergence of the national spirit in legend and in history and explored the manifestation of the singular and peculiar, the essence of Judaism constituted an element scarcely to be blended with the essence of Germanism. If one conceived of the state as a community of those who lived, had lived, and were still to live, with every hope for moral and religious development related to Christianity, there could be no place for the Jews in this community.

A people could become an entity only through uniformity of expression, thought, language, and faith, and through loyalty to the governmental system, declared the famous Professor Friedrich Ruehs of the University of Berlin,<sup>8</sup> at that time. A stranger could not be denied admission into this ethnic unity, but he should be granted it only if he surrendered himself to it completely and became fused with it. But that condition did not apply to German Jewry. By virtue of its descent, disposition, faith, and language, it was more closely unified to the Jews the world over than to the Germans. As long as the Jews persevered in their national and political particularism and refused to yield the separate folk existence (*Volkstümlichkeit*) based on their religion and their aristocratic constitutions, they had to remain tolerated *Schutz- und Schirmgenossen*, separated by strict

<sup>8</sup> *Über die Ansprüche der Juden an das deutsche Bürgerrecht* (2nd printing; Berlin, 1816).

commercial regulations from the other subjects. Only if they dejudaised themselves, that is to say, converted to Christianity, could they be accepted as citizens of equal standing in the state.

These "strict commercial regulations" took the form of earnest efforts by the governments of the individual states to direct the large number of poorer Jews into new vocational and economic areas; to deflect them from commerce, particularly from dealing in second-hand goods and from pawnbroking; and to channel them into agriculture and handicrafts. Even if the intentions expressed in this program were justifiable and educative, the national-economic doctrine of romanticism played an important part. Commerce, as it was proclaimed here, was essentially international, geared to economic gain, that is to say, to profit and consumption. Industry, in turn, dependent as it was on the ability of the individual entrepreneur, likewise contradicted the romantic idea of the organic unity.

This vocational readjustment was pressed so thoroughly by individual governments that, for instance, the Baden ministry of the interior demanded<sup>9</sup> that Jewish journeymen be absolved, for the period of their travelling apprenticeship, from observing their religious laws, especially from observance of the Sabbath, until such time as a larger number of Jewish artisans would be accepted as masterworkmen in the land.

How did German Jewry react to the idea of the Christian state? How did it reply to the changed position of the ruling powers and of society and to the release of popular outburst which found its most salient expression in the anti-Jewish *Hep!* movement of the year 1819?

Several possible solutions presented themselves, and all of

<sup>9</sup> Schreiben des badischen Innenministeriums an den Oberrat der Israeliten. 12. September, 1812. Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Ministerium des Inneren, Judensachen, Zug 1900, Nr. 40, III.

them were attempted by the German Jews in those years. One possibility was to recognize the dominant ideas, to affirm that Christianity was the basis of German culture, and in the course of assimilating to the German environment, to adopt Christianity. This was the solution attempted by the children of Moses Mendelssohn, by Heinrich Heine, by Ludwig Börne, Eduard Gans, Friedrich Julius Stahl, and Karl Marx, and by innumerable others.

A second possibility lay in compromise. This compromise took the form of surrendering one's own nationality in accordance with the state's requirement, of negating Jewish peoplehood; it took the form of simplifying and adjusting all ritual and ceremonial to the liturgical patterns of the environment, of reducing religion — which had formerly dominated and permeated the lives of one's forebears — to a personal creed, an ethical *Weltanschauung*. Such was the solution attempted at that time by the Jewish Reformers.

A third alternative was that of subjecting to scientific investigation the Jew's relationship to religion and society, state and humanity, the past and the future, and simultaneously of enlightening a hostile environment with respect to the religious basis of Judaism — this Judaism which had been, at one time, as revelatory of the *Weltgeist* as ever Hellenism and Christianity were. Thus the world would be given the opportunity of forming a better judgment as to the worthiness or unworthiness of the Jews and their eligibility for emancipation and equal rights. This was the approach adopted at that time by the Berlin cultural organization known as the *Verein für Kultur und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, founded in 1819.

However divided the German Jews were during these years, one watchword still remained to unite all trends and opinions, the Orthodox and the Reformers, the conservatives and the liberals, the irresolute and the faithful, the indifferent

and the baptized: the watchword of political and civil emancipation.

Strengthened in its self-respect and self-awareness by better education and greater economic security, the whole of German Jewry regarded its political degradation as an intolerable insult. Just as the public opinion of those years saw the ultimate of human happiness in the fulfillment of constitutional demands, so, too, the Jews of that generation looked to political emancipation for redemption from their sad fate. Proceeding on the assumption that the innate rights of human beings were not to be diminished by any one, they defended their cause in political, philosophical, and moral discussions before the entire German nation. In as many petitions they accused the *Ständeversammlungen* of the individual states — Baden, Bavaria, Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse, Prussia, and Saxony — of violating the spirit of the constitutions themselves and of the principle of the equality of all persons before the law by barring Jews from state offices and by denying them the right to be chosen as representatives to the diets.

The most vehement struggle for equal rights was fought at that time by the Bavarian Jews, whose legal position was the most oppressive and insecure.<sup>10</sup> Not even the Napoleonic period had essentially improved the position of the Jews in Bavaria. They had been granted only the right to attend public schools and the remission of the body-tax (*Leibzoll*), while the 1813 edict regulating their legal relationship to the Bavarian state had prescribed, in its infamous twelfth paragraph, that "the number of Jewish families in localities where there are some at present should not, as a rule, be increased, but rather, if it be too large, diminished" (*die Zahl der Judenfamilien an den Orten, wo sie dermalen bestehen, in der Regel nicht vermehrt, vielmehr, wenn sie zu gross*

<sup>10</sup> A. Eckstein, *Der Kampf der Juden um ihre Emanzipation in Bayern* (Fürth i. B., 1905).

*sei, vermindert werden müsse*). If Jews wished to settle in townships hitherto *judenfrei*, they were obliged to secure the permission of the *Landesherr*, the manoral lord. Such permission was, in general, to be granted only to manufacturers, artisans, and agricultural workers.

What this regulation meant in practice was that only an eldest son would be authorized to settle by virtue of his father's letter of protection (*Schutzbrief*). Otherwise, in order to gain the right of settlement, one had to await the death of a childless owner of a registration certificate (*Matrikelbesitzer*) and, in addition, had frequently to pay the huge sum of 1,000 gulden for that right. In a petition of May, 1831, to the diet (*Ständekammer*), the Jews of Bavaria demanded that this degrading regulation be repealed by the government.

It is an inalienable, inviolable human right to have a fatherland, to use one's mental and physical powers freely, to own property, to settle and marry, in wedlock to beget and educate children, and to leave to them a fatherland, their own hearth, and secure possession and enjoyment of their human rights.

But where they are commanded to diminish the number of their families, where their increase is prohibited, and where their settlement is confined to a certain number and to a few places, but otherwise forbidden, there our children have no fatherland, no property, no livelihood; there they are condemned to remain unmarried, to renounce their paternal and human rights, and to perish physically and morally.

Still more movingly did the communities of Ansbach and Fürth appeal to the king in a memorial in 1837. They pointed out that their children had indeed gained admission to all institutions of higher learning, but found no opportunity to put their theoretical training into practice. Should their well-founded grievances not be rectified, they would be forced

to surrender one of the most cherished possessions of every feeling man — their hereditary homeland. . . . Already we are aware of a



phenomenon which has not hitherto been known. Already we see the desire to emigrate taking root also among the Israelites of Bavaria; for the past few years, at the coming of each spring, a not unsubstantial number of Israelite coreligionists have been leaving Bavaria, hitherto their fatherland, to move to distant parts of the world.

These are not adventurers; these are by no means the scum of civil society. These are strong young men, professionals and solid businessmen, who for years applied for settlement, but thereby wasted money and time, simply because there was no vacancy in the registration list, or because their religion prevented them. . . . Every year the number of Israelite emigrants increases, and these are no longer confined to unmarried individuals, but comprise established families.

Bavarian Jewry itself specified in these petitions the main reasons which compelled Jewish youth to emigrate: the prohibition against second, third, or even fourth children settling in the land, and the difficulties encountered in the practice of the academic professions. It is, therefore, no coincidence that most of the German memoir-writers mention Bavaria as their native land. Sigmund and Leopold Wassermann, who landed in America at the beginning of the eighteen forties,<sup>11</sup> also hailed from Bavaria, as did Herman Cone and Leo Merzbacher.<sup>12</sup>

It would be wrong, nevertheless, to simplify the problems and to reduce the motives to a common denominator. Two memorialists, William Frank and Louis Stix,<sup>13</sup> report, for instance, that they had learned a trade: Frank had learned weaving, and Stix had learned glazing. Frank worked for three years as an apprentice in Schweinfurt; then, under Christian masterworkmen, he followed his trade in almost all the larger cities of Bavaria, as well as in Frankfurt, Mainz, Worms, Darmstadt, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Landau, Speyer,

<sup>11</sup> Guido Kisch, "Two American Jewish Pioneers in New Haven," *Historia Judaica*, IV (1942).

<sup>12</sup> Eric E. Hirshler, *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York, 1955).

<sup>13</sup> Jacob Rader Marcus, *Memoirs*, I.

and many smaller places. He appears to have found work easily and was satisfied with his earnings. Frank must, therefore, have had reasons other than poverty, the prohibition of settlement, and state and municipal restrictions, for deciding, nevertheless, to emigrate to "blessed America."

As we saw, the learning of a trade was forced upon the Jews by the governments. They yielded to this decree hesitantly and unwillingly. Frank reports that the police arrested him at the age of fourteen and that, living on bread and water, he had to spend three days in prison because he had not begun to learn a trade. His first period of apprenticeship to a cobbler was torture, and he ran away after two weeks because he could not stand the smell of the "stinking shoes" he had to repair.

The Baden minister of the interior, von Berckheim, wrote to the Frankfurt ambassador, von Blittersdorf, in 1828,<sup>14</sup> that the Jews found their vocational readjustment difficult and that their "absorption into the civic order" had not met with the desired success. They did not take agriculture and the trades very seriously because they chose only those vocations which required little effort — vocations such as tailoring, shoemaking, and bookbinding — or which had some connection with commerce — butchering, soap manufacturing, and hatmaking. Most of them soon resigned their trades in favor of commerce. There was this added factor: that the Jews were inevitably drawn to commerce by virtue of that superiority which they had acquired in all branches of trade through their early development of an almost instinctive taste for speculation and through the connections they had with their people in all parts of the world. It was this inclination to commerce which impelled them in that direction.

We may assume, therefore, that the enterprising Frank, who

<sup>14</sup> Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Judenrechte, Pars II, I.

became an important glass manufacturer in America, and the generous and honorable Stix, who died a millionaire, both sought a way to freedom in order to burst the bonds of narrow-minded, compulsory guild order.

In the possession of the American Jewish Archives is the "Mailert Family Correspondence," a comprehensive collection permitting a more profound insight into the soul of an emigrant than do the short sketches of the memoir-writers. The letters were written by Charles Lucius Mailert during the years 1833-1851 to his brother August, who emigrated to the United States at the beginning of the 1830's. Charles Lucius Mailert was a Jewish teacher and director of a private school in Kassel. He himself was about to emigrate to America. Only consideration of his aged mother, whom he did not wish to leave behind alone, and later a serious illness which brought about his early death, prevented the execution of his plan.

These are the letters of a well-educated, very sensitive, and receptive young man who was familiar with the condition of the Jews as well as with the general political situation in Germany. This enlightened, forthright educator was in a position to pen his moods, intentions, and feelings in well-chosen language. Although he was a Jewish teacher and edited a "Hebrew Bible," the Jewish problem did not play a decisive role in his case. This was not because the condition of the Jews was considerably better in the Electorate of Hesse (where, in the main, the reforms of the Westphalian period were kept intact) than in Bavaria and many other states. It was because Charles Lucius Mailert's interest was directed not so much to the liberation of his fellow Jews as to the political and civil emancipation of German society, to whose emancipation he believed the emancipation of the Jews was intimately related.

What stirred him deeply was his enormous urge for freedom, an irresistible aversion to conditions in

antiquated, tyrannized Europe, where at every step an eavesdropper sneaks up or a gaudy mercenary reminds one of brutalities, where new laws are made daily in order to impose new fines, where the word of a thinking man brings about penal servitude; in short, where they let people live only for the fun of grinding them. Europe sprouted a shoot of liberty some years ago, but it withered and deprived the whole tree of whatever strength there still remained.<sup>15</sup>

When his brother warned him not to make a hasty decision and told him about the privations and the hard life of the immigrant, Charles replied:

Whatever you and many others may say about America, you do not know European slavery, German oppression, and Hessian taxes. There is only one land of liberty which is ruled according to natural, reasonable laws, and that is the Union. Freedom is the greatest possession; in the Old World freedom lies in chains, and her defenders have to mount the scaffold. You say in America it is "make money," but here it is "give money as taxes." Which is better?<sup>16</sup>

"I am happy and confident, when I think about America," he declares in another letter.<sup>17</sup>

I still live and strive in and for America — without imagining it to be a fool's paradise. Freedom! Freedom of life and of the soul! The advantages which you ascribe to Europe are very dubious. Everything has come about through the blood and sweat of the poor subjects.<sup>18</sup>

In a later letter he confesses to his brother:

America still keeps me going somewhat. If this thought, too, proves deceptive; if one may not or cannot be a human being there, either, then my life would be unbearable — perhaps then I might be able to throw it away.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Letter dated March 14, 1835.

<sup>16</sup> Letter dated March 19, 1835.

<sup>17</sup> Letter dated October 22, 1835.

<sup>18</sup> Letter dated February 18, 1836.

<sup>19</sup> Letter dated April 26, 1837.

Similar, purely idealistic reasons motivated Sigmund and Leopold Wassermann, the sons of well-to-do and educated parents, when they decided to take up a life of privation rather than to live in "hatred and shame." Both of them were high-minded, sensitive, and profound souls, whose dispositions had been molded by classical and romantic literature. Their disappointed and rejected love of their — despite everything — "oh, so dear fatherland" prompted them to write sad elegies in which they conjured up the millennial grief and sang of the "sweet liberty" which they hoped to find on "America's happy shores."

How these hopes were fulfilled, how the emigrants from Germany found their way in the New World, how they guarded the heritage which they brought with them, and what strength they derived from it — these things have been told to us by the historian to whom this *Festschrift* is dedicated.



# The Economic Life of the American Jew in the Middle Nineteenth Century

ALLAN TARSHISH

WHEN the Jew began to leave Germanic lands in the middle of the nineteenth century he was, in the main, well-fitted for the type of economic activity generally prevailing in the United States. The discovery of gold in California in 1848, the Westward Movement, the Homestead Act of 1862, followed by the joining of the West Coast with the East by railroad, the expansion of industry, the growth of the cities, the rich rewards for the venturesome — all provided an excellent opportunity for daring, courage, personal ingenuity, and individual exploitation.

German economic life had not fully evolved to the point of mass industrialism; it was still basically the age of the individual and the middle man, enabling many German Jews to be active in various areas.<sup>\*</sup> The American scene beckoned to those who were eager to work, to take a chance, to venture into new fields and to explore the potentialities of the economic frontier. One historian has called this the age of revolution in manufacturing,

Rabbi Allan Tarshish is the spiritual leader of Temple Beth Elohim, Charleston, S. C.

<sup>\*</sup> For instance, the Jews of Silesia were often employed by large landowners as financial and commercial agents and as lessees of their breweries and farms: Selma Stern-Tacubler, "Problems of American and German Jewish Historiography," in Eric E. Hirshler, ed., *Jews from Germany in the United States* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955), p. 12.

transportation, mining, and communication.<sup>2</sup> And, as in any revolution, new figures found their opportunity.

The majority of the Jews who came to this country at this time were not rich, and few had sufficient capital to start a business.<sup>3</sup> Thus many of them became peddlers. In 1850 there were some 10,000 peddlers in the United States, and in 1860 more than 16,000, most of whom were Jewish.<sup>4</sup> According to a humorous Jew of Syracuse, New York, who described the various categories, the bottom of the economic ladder was occupied by the basket peddler.

One day, when Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise was traveling on the boat from New York to Albany, he saw such a basket peddler walking around the boat, wringing his hands in agony. Wise asked if he had lost anything. The peddler responded in German: "Have I lost anything? . . . *Bewonos* [God help me!], I have lost everything! I have lost my English language." The rabbi could not understand. "You do not understand? Neither do I, and therein lies my misfortune. I arrived at New York, and after I had paid my debts I had twenty dollars and three shillings left. So they said to me, 'Cohen, you must buy a basket for six shillings, and twenty dollars' worth of kuddel muddel, what we call in German *meshowes* (notions), and then you must go peddling in the country.'

"I cry out, 'The country speaks English, and I do not. How

<sup>2</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States, 1829-1925* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XIII (1849), 649; Mark Stone, *Historical Sketch and By-Laws of Ohabei Shalom, Boston* (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1907); *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Booklet of Congregation B'nai B'rith, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1849-1924*; Herman Eliassoff, "German American Jews," reprint from *Publications of the German American Historical Society of Illinois* (1915), pp. 33, 43; Simon Glazer, *Jews of Iowa* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1904), p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolph Glanz, "Notes on Early Jewish Peddling in America," *Jewish Social Studies*, VII (1945), 120.



in the world can I get along?" "That makes no difference," they told me; "we will write everything down for you." Well, they gave me the basket filled with kuddel muddel, and wrote down for me the English language on a piece of paper, and sent me to Hudson. Now I have lost the English language, and am perfectly helpless." Wise comforted the distracted peddler, had him write in German the sentences which he needed, and translated them into English. Even then the immigrant had his difficulties and persisted in saying, "You fant to puy somdink? Can I shtay mit you all nacht?"<sup>5</sup>

The next higher rank among the peddlers was the trunk carrier who knew a little English. On the next rung above was the pack carrier who shouldered 150 pounds of merchandise and looked forward to the time when he would become a businessman. These were the plebeians. But there was also an aristocracy among the peddlers: either a wagon baron who peddled with a horse and wagon; or a jewelry count who carried stocks of watches and jewelry in a small trunk and was considered a rich man by his friends. On the top rung was the store prince who had succeeded in establishing a shop, usually a clothing store.<sup>6</sup>

This humorous description was acted out in many a life — and sometimes not so humorously. The life stories of individual immigrants are very often replete with vicissitudes.<sup>7</sup> Some were tragic indeed, as is disclosed by a short account in the *New York Sun* of May 7, 1849: "The body of a German named Marcus Cohen was found in a remote part of Greenwood Cemetery on Friday last. It seems that on Wednesday last, in a

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Mayer Wise, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati: Leo Wise and Co., 1901), p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47; Jacob R. Marcus, *Memoirs of American Jews, 1775-1865* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955), 3 vols.

fit of desperation on account of pecuniary embarrassments, he, with a hair trigger pistol, terminated his existence. He was a carpenter by trade. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

Living conditions, especially in the big cities, were often most difficult. Samuel Gompers, who came to New York in 1863 at the age of thirteen, later described the tenement in which his family lived. "Our apartment in Sheriff Street," Gompers recalled, "was a typical three room home. The largest, the front room, was a combined kitchen, dining room, and sitting room, with two front windows. There were two small bed rooms back, which had windows opening into the hall. We got water from a common hydrant in the yard and carried it upstairs. The toilet was in the yard also."<sup>9</sup> And this was better than many.

Anti-Jewish prejudice often added to the hardships. One non-Jewish peddler commented that one day he sold some goods in a tavern in a small town in Delaware and was apprehended by a local official who thought he was a Jew. When, however, he showed his passport and proved that he was not a Jew, the official said: "As I see that you're an honest Protestant, I'll let you go, though it's costing me \$25. I'm no friend of the Jews and if you were one . . . you would have been fined \$50 or gone to jail, and I would have got half of the cash for my pains. . . ."<sup>10</sup>

It is true that Jews were not the only targets of prejudice. They were often victims of the general attitude of anti-foreign and anti-German prejudice, as revealed in the following doggerel:

<sup>8</sup> Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews of the United States, 1654-1875* (New York: Citadel Press, 1950), p. 287.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1949), p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Glanz, p. 127.

O, Germany, Germany, land of fiddlers,  
Of mad musicians, cabbages and "sour-kROUT";  
Filled with base barons and with Jewish peddlers. . . .<sup>11</sup>

The religious activities of these Jews also were commentaries upon their early struggles. Funds were meager, and most of the existing congregations held services in rented rooms.<sup>12</sup> The first constitution of Congregation Adath Israel of Louisville, organized in 1842, stipulated that whenever the treasurer had the sum of \$50, the whole congregation had to be convened to decide what to do with the money.<sup>13</sup> Rodeph Shalom Congregation of Philadelphia, in 1849, fifty-four years after its founding, still depended upon the rental of the cellar of the synagogue as a storage place for beer, although this practice was soon to be discontinued.<sup>14</sup> The now wealthy Congregation Emanu-El of New York could raise only \$28.25 from its members at its first meeting in 1845.<sup>15</sup>

Businesses were often begun very humbly. One traveler in California stated that "the Jewish shops were generally rattle-trap erections about the size of a bathing machine, so small that one half of the stock had to be displayed suspended from projecting sticks outside. . . ."<sup>16</sup>

Dr. Jacob R. Marcus calls Henry Seessel the typical German Jewish immigrant. Having migrated to New Orleans about

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 130 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Stella Obst, *The Story of Adath Israel, Boston, Mass.* (Boston, 1917); "Outline of the History of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel," *Year Book of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1889-1892), I-III.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Goldsmith, *Congregation Adath Israel, Louisville, Kentucky* (Louisville, 1906).

<sup>14</sup> Minute Book of Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia, 1847-1851, December 9, 1849.

<sup>15</sup> Myer Stern, *History of Temple Emanu-El of New York* (New York, 1895), excerpts from the first meeting, April 16, 1845, and following; Trustees Minutes of Temple Emanu-El, New York, book 1862-1876, October 7, 1866 — May 1, 1869.

<sup>16</sup> Glanz, p. 123.

1843, Seessel was for years an itinerant merchant, peddling clothes and jewelry. In turn he became a trunkmaker, store-keeper, stock raiser, saloonkeeper, and butcher. He had many family problems. Yet eventually he did make a modest success.<sup>17</sup>

Others did better. Daniel Frohman, noted theatrical producer, recalled that his father, Henry Frohman, came to New York in 1845 from Darmstadt, Germany, and for a while was a pack peddler in the upper Hudson Valley. Later he prospered and bought a wagon with which he could purchase clothing wholesale, a practice which eventually led to much greater success.<sup>18</sup>

Louis Stix, who came to Cincinnati in 1841, also began as a pack peddler, and, likewise, soon owned a horse and wagon. A few years later he was able to open a little store with some partners, some of whom continued to peddle. A few years before the Civil War, the firm of Louis Stix and Co. was founded and became one of the best-known dry goods firms in the Middle West.<sup>19</sup> Others had similar fortunate experiences;<sup>20</sup> most of the famed Seligman brothers, for example, began as peddlers.<sup>21</sup> William Frank, originally a weaver in the old country, began his career as a peddler in Eastern Pennsylvania, selling dry goods, and eventually becoming a prosperous glass manufacturer. In 1846 he moved to Pittsburgh, and was one of the men who founded the Jewish community of that city.<sup>22</sup>

So it was for many. The merchandise of the peddler was sold for a profit, small reserves were accumulated, greater economic

<sup>17</sup> Marcus, I, 353-67.

<sup>18</sup> Glanz, p. 125.

<sup>19</sup> Marcus, I, 311-42.

<sup>20</sup> Glanz, pp. 124, 127.

<sup>21</sup> Marcus, I, 343; *In Memoriam Jesse Seligman* (New York: Privately printed, 1894).

<sup>22</sup> Marcus, I, 302-8.

opportunities were sought out, a store was rented, real estate was purchased, and new ventures were explored. Partnerships were formed, small businesses expanded, and often the profits were invested in the development of railroads, coal, quarries, lumbering, oil, or factories.<sup>23</sup> The little Baltimore meat market of John M. Dyer became one of the large packing houses of the country.<sup>24</sup> The dry goods store of Simon Fleisher led first to the manufacture of braids, then of woolen yarns, and finally grew into the national firm of Fleisher Yarns.<sup>25</sup> A little retail store begun by Julius Rosenwald in Springfield, Illinois, provided the means for purchasing into and expanding the mail order house of Sears, Roebuck and Co.<sup>26</sup>

After a successful peddling career, Lazarus Straus established himself in business in Talbotton, Georgia. Then he moved to New York, and with his sons, Isidor and Nathan, opened a crockery and glassware store in 1866. A few years later they began to operate the china and silverware departments in the basement of R. H. Macy and Co. Eventually Isidor and Nathan became partners in the store itself and ultimately its owners.<sup>27</sup> Isidor, the oldest son and the guiding force in founding the great Straus family fortunes, was a most resourceful person. His memoirs record that on the day of his entrance into the Georgia Military Academy at Marietta, Georgia, he was so repelled by the hazing in that institution that he refused to

<sup>23</sup> Ely E. Pilchik, "Economic Life of American Jewry, 1860-1875" (Prize Essay, Hebrew Union College Library), pp. 4-7.

<sup>24</sup> Adolph Guttmacher, *History of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, 1830-1905* (Baltimore, 1905).

<sup>25</sup> Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Levytype Co., 1894), p. 263.

<sup>26</sup> H. Elliot Snyder, *History of Congregation Brith Sholom of Springfield, Illinois* (70th Anniversary).

<sup>27</sup> Pilchik, p. 13.

become a student, and the next morning he determined, instead, to make a career for himself in business. He states:

. . . I hired a buggy with a driver and visited a mill which was situated a few miles away and made a contract for the delivery to me of some of the mill's product, on which I made a very good turn, and thus became embarked on a mercantile career, which has been my occupation ever since. To the best of my recollection, I went to Atlanta the following day, sold for future delivery what I had contracted for at the factory the previous day, and embarked in other transactions. So that, when I returned to Talbotton, after an absence of probably two weeks, and related my experiences, the surprising turn of events with their successful results in a measure appeased the disappointment which an utter failure of the purpose of my trip would have caused.

Thus, though Isidor had set out from home to become a scholar, he returned as a successful, embryonic businessman. He seemed to have the knack for making the best of difficult situations. In the summer of 1863, at the age of twenty, he set out for Europe to help a blockade-running firm purchase goods for the South through the sale of Southern cotton. He reached his destination safely after a dangerous sea voyage. Although this particular mission proved unsuccessful, this young, enterprising businessman returned to the United States two years later, with \$10,000 in gold which he had earned in other ventures.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, all the German Jews were not so ingenious, daring, and resourceful as Isidor Straus, and all of them did not become wealthy; but many did prosper. The business directories in most cities indicate the increase in Jewish business concerns. From 1865 to 1875, the number of Jewish business firms in Baltimore more than doubled; in Cincinnati, from 1860 to 1880, the number more than tripled; and in Cleveland, from 1863 to 1880, it quadrupled. Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Milwaukee,

<sup>28</sup> Marcus, II, 301-16.

St. Louis, and other cities showed increases in similar proportions.<sup>29</sup> This increase in the number of Jewish firms does not necessarily imply that each particular business grew in size and wealth, but certainly new business firms would not have been established if the others had not succeeded.

An additional confirmation of this increasing prosperity was the fact that many new synagogue buildings were erected, some of them costing as much as \$300,000.<sup>30</sup> In 1850 the United States Census valued Jewish church property at one half million dollars. In 1860 this had doubled, and by 1873 such property was valued at over five million dollars.<sup>31</sup> Educational institutions and philanthropic societies also were the beneficiaries of this increase in wealth. It was reported, in 1881, that a single charity Purim Ball in New York netted \$22,000.<sup>32</sup> The homes, clothing, entertainment, and travels of the Jews of this period all evidenced the growing prosperity.

This is the general story. Was it different from the norm of American economic life of the time? Were the Jews active in all phases or only in certain aspects of business life? Did they engage in agriculture? Were they prominent in the laboring and

<sup>29</sup> Pilchik, pp. 29, 48, 51; Pilchik, "Economic Life of American Jewry, 1875-1880" (Prize Essay, H. U. C. Library), pp. 6-7, 9-10, 17-18, 21.

<sup>30</sup> Trustees Minutes of Temple Emanu-El, New York, book 1862-1876, October 7, 1866—May 1, 1869; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XXXVI (1872), 355; *Jewish Chronicle* (London), XXX (1873), 509; *Israelitische Wochenschrift für die Religiösen und Socialen Interessen des Judentums* (Breslau, Germany), VII (1876), 433; Isaac M. Wise and Max B. May, *The History of the K. K. Bene Yeshurun, of Cincinnati, Ohio, from the Date of Organization* (Cincinnati, 1892).

<sup>31</sup> Arthur J. Lelyveld, "Economic Life of American Jewry, 1860-1877" (Prize Essay, Hebrew Union College Library), pp. 163 ff. For greater detail, see Allan Tarshish, "The Rise of American Judaism" (Doctoral thesis, Hebrew Union College Library), note 127.

<sup>32</sup> *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, XII (1881), 162; *Archives Israélites* (Paris), XXV (1864), 498.

capitalistic groups? Were they pioneers or followers? Did they contribute significantly to American economic development? We turn now to a consideration of these questions.

### JEWISH ECONOMIC LIFE AS COMPARED TO GENERAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE

Jewish economic activity did not exist in a vacuum, nor were Jews business geniuses whose talents defied the laws of the economic order in which they lived. They may have been strengthened on the anvil of centuries of persecution; being compelled to live on the periphery of medieval society, they may have learned how to take advantage of any slight opportunity; they may have been sharpened by talmudic study and vitalized by Jewish education; but, for the most part, their success could be attributed to the remarkable expansion and development of the United States at that time. They, too, were affected whenever and wherever there were economic dislocations and recessions.

When the country was expanding slowly, between 1840 and 1860, Jewish economic development was gradual. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the whole country suffered a temporary depression due to the sudden loss of Southern accounts, the cancellation of many Southern debts, and the uncertainty of events. Jewish business was affected proportionately. The depression was, however, of short duration, lasting only about a year, and ended when the government began to place orders for various goods. Then Civil War business boomed, especially in the North, and many Jews prospered with the rest of the business community.

The wholesale clothing business as it is now known had its beginnings during the Civil War years. The government's demand for uniforms required an unusually large production



of clothing, and by reason of their long association with the needle trade in Europe, Jews were particularly equipped to provide this need. The mass production of clothing became largely a Jewish enterprise. Jews exercised their ingenuity to provide acceptable clothing at low prices, first for government needs, and then for people of modest means. Thus Jews brought democracy by clothing all men, more or less alike.<sup>33</sup>

The boom lasted until 1873, during which time the great Westward Movement and the full economic revolution came into being. The depression, setting in in that year, lasted until 1879 and was responsible for some 52,000 business failures. Although many Jews were involved in the catastrophe, it was reported that not one Jewish banking house suspended payment. On the whole, Jewish business was solid.<sup>34</sup>

The epic adventures of Rabbi Abraham Joseph Ash of the first Russian American Jewish congregation of New York are illustrative. The business opportunities of the Civil War caused him to leave the rabbinate for the hoop skirt industry, in which he made nearly \$10,000. Becoming a lay leader of the congregation, Ash supported it generously until the panic of 1873 caused his business to fail and he returned to the rabbinate. After three years he decided that business was on the upswing and tried again. His optimism was premature inasmuch as the depression lasted six years, and again he failed. This time Ash definitely decided that he was not a business genius and returned permanently to the rabbinate.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Judith Greenfeld, "The Role of the Jews in the Development of the Clothing Industry in the United States," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (New York, 1947-1948), II-III, 180-204.

<sup>34</sup> Lelyveld, pp. 3-9; *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, XI (1880), 176; *Jewish World* (London), October 31, 1873; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XXXVII (1873), 808.

<sup>35</sup> J. D. Eisenstein, "The History of the First Russian-American Jewish Congregation," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [PAJHS], IX (1901), 63-74.

Still, in the main, this was a period of expansion and prosperity. From 1860 to 1880, the population of the nation increased from thirty-one million to fifty million; the value of farm property from eight billion to twelve billion dollars; the value of domestic manufactures from two billion to more than five billion dollars; the number of patents issued from five thousand to fourteen thousand; railroad mileage from thirty thousand to ninety-three thousand; tons of coal mined from thirteen million to sixty-three million; gallons of petroleum produced from twenty-one million to more than one billion; and tons of steel produced from practically nothing to more than one million.<sup>36</sup> These figures tell the story of the basic economic expansion of the country and give the fundamental reason for the general prosperity of the Jew at that time.

#### IN VARIOUS LOCALITIES

Economic activity varied in different parts of the country, and Jewish economic life generally followed the pattern of each region.

New England, which had prospered greatly in colonial times, slowed down in the middle of the nineteenth century. Many of her former settlers, tired of wrestling with her stony ground, followed the covered wagon across the plains of the Middle West and became pioneers of westward expansion. Since new immigrants were not attracted to a region which was more or less static, New England's Jewish population did not greatly increase; Jewish business establishments in Boston, for instance, multiplied very slowly during the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Schlesinger, p. 276.

<sup>37</sup> Tarshish, "The Rise of American Judaism," Appendix A and B; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 5-6.

Despite the general westward movement, the cities of the Middle Eastern Seaboard, which had become highly industrialized, grew considerably during this period. Large groups of immigrants poured into the ports of the Middle Atlantic Coast. Aided earlier by the opening of the Erie Canal, New York, as the major seaport and port of entry, expanded phenomenally in this period, and Jewish economic enterprises more than tripled. The same situation prevailed in other cities of the Middle Atlantic section.<sup>38</sup>

Even before the Civil War, the slavery system had discouraged Southern industrialization, and as a whole this region did not share proportionately in the general expansion. Most of the new immigrants chose to settle elsewhere. The destruction wrought by the Civil War with its subsequent dislocations, together with the harsh reconstruction methods of the North, so crippled the South that for many years she was unable to partake of the favorable economic trend. The Jews of the South suffered with their neighbors. Jewish business in Savannah, Georgia, increased only slightly in this period. Business firms in Charleston, South Carolina, once one of the great Jewish centers of the nation, showed very little expansion. Although some sections of the South prospered, for the most part the region was fairly static.<sup>39</sup>

The Middle West also prospered greatly during this period, and so did many of the Jews who lived there. Cincinnati became known as "the Queen City of the West" and also as "Porkopolis" because of its large meat packing industry. Cincinnati's Jewish population, at this time of the city's greatest development, was

<sup>38</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," p. 27; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 6-7.

<sup>39</sup> Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1905), pp. 260-61; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," p. 34; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 13-15.

the largest and richest west of the Atlantic Seaboard. Thus it was not surprising that Isaac Mayer Wise, one of the great American Jewish leaders of the time, should have been one of Cincinnati's rabbis, and that the first permanent rabbinical seminary as well as the first successful religious union of congregations should have originated there.<sup>40</sup>

The picture was similar in Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, and other teeming cities of the Middle West. The great expansion of cities like Chicago and Cleveland took place in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the years which followed, and it was then that they far outdistanced Cincinnati in Jewish population and wealth.<sup>41</sup>

The Far West was the scene of unusual growth. The gold mines of California, the Great Plains west of the Mississippi, the transcontinental railroads, all contributed to an expansion of wealth unique in the annals of human history. Jews went with the other pioneers into mining camps and into agricultural towns and cities. Jewish clothing stores were established in the outposts; banking houses in the metropolitan centers. It has been reported that the standard equipment of many of these Jews was a shovel and a gun: a shovel with which to dig their way out of the snow if necessary, and a gun for protection in the many lawless sections of this new region. From the beginning, Jews were found in San Francisco, the nerve center of the Far West, and they prospered with it.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Die Neuzeit* (Vienna, Austria), XIV (1874).

<sup>41</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," pp. 48, 51-52; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 17-18, 20-21; *The Israelite* (Cincinnati), I (1854), 8; *ibid.*, IV (1857), 396; *ibid.*, VII (1860), January 6; Alexander Goodkowitz [Alexander D. Goode], "History of Jewish Economic Life in the United States, 1830-1860" (Prize Essay, Hebrew Union College Library, 1933); *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* (Philadelphia), X (No. 1), 41; *Archives Israélites*, XVIII (1857), 59.

<sup>42</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," p. 56; Albert M. Friedenberg, "Letters of a California Pioneer," *PAJHS*, XXXI (1928), 135-71 (twenty-seven letters written by Alexander Mayer of California to relatives in 1850).

## SPECIFIC JEWISH ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Did Jews participate in all phases of economic life? Did they figure proportionately with the rest of the population in industry, farming, mining, merchandising, the professions, and the like? Or did they bulk large in only a few of these?

As we study the business directories, the advertisements in newspapers, the records of congregations, communities, and individuals, and even the hospital statistics, we learn that Jews engaged in practically every endeavor possible on this broad and varied continent. They were in every type of mercantile pursuit; they were dentists, doctors, teachers, and lawyers; they were musicians, magicians, and opticians; they were miners and gold refiners; they were harness makers and locksmiths; they sold oil and patent medicines; they were barbers, barkeepers, marble cutters, waiters, and weavers.<sup>43</sup>

In the upper levels of economic life they were grain kings, engineers, steel producers, clothing manufacturers, railroad financiers, and large realty brokers.<sup>44</sup> Abraham Hart was a well-known publisher at the beginning of this period; Lorenz Brentano began to loom large toward the latter part of the nineteenth century.<sup>45</sup> John M. Dyer of Baltimore made a fortune in the packing business by 1847, and Nelson Morris

<sup>43</sup> *The Asmonean* (New York), I (1849), 7-8, 63; *ibid.*, III (1851), 112, 176, 183-84; *ibid.*, IV (1852), 91, 108, 115, 138, 141, 147, 151, 162-63, 170, 183, 187, 196, 198; *ibid.*, V (1853), 73, 97; *ibid.*, VI (1854), 110, 176; *ibid.*, VII (1855), 3, 37, 119, 301; *The Occident*, X (1852-53), 41; *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), I, December 18, 1863, April 8, 1864; *The Weekly Gleaner* (San Francisco), I (1857), 328; *ibid.*, III, March 11, 1859; *The Israelite*, III (1856), 108; *ibid.*, VII (1860), 198; *ibid.*, XI (1864), No. 1; *ibid.*, XIX, July 5, 1872; *ibid.*, XXVIII (1881), No. 26; The Annual Reports of Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York, 1857-1872, reports of 1861 and 1871.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Masserman and Max Baker, *The Jews Come to America* (New York: Bloch, 1932), pp. 136-64; George Cohen, *The Jews in the Making of America* (Boston: Stratford Co., 1924), p. 224.

<sup>45</sup> Masserman and Baker, pp. 212 ff.

did the same in Chicago after the Civil War.<sup>46</sup> There were many Jews in the rising insurance business.<sup>47</sup> The Allens of Philadelphia and Joseph Stettheimer and Daniel Bettman of New York were among the earliest dealers in petroleum.<sup>48</sup> Jews owned large quarries in Virginia, and were important cotton brokers.<sup>49</sup>

Colonel Samuel S. Myers pioneered in manufacturing illuminating gas in Richmond, and Joshua Lazarus introduced it into the city of Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>50</sup> Moritz Friedlander amassed wealth from grain in Chicago, and Michael Reese prospered from Chicago real estate. The Sutro tunnel was named for Adolph Sutro, its engineer. John Rosenfelt helped to develop the coal fields of Canada, and the Hendricks family of New York was prominent in the metal business.<sup>51</sup> Julius Bien pioneered in lithographing, and Bernard Solomon was the first to introduce colored leather into the United States.<sup>52</sup> Swiss-born Meyer Guggenheim came to the United States in 1847, at the age of nineteen. Eventually he entered the smelting business and became one of the great industrial tycoons of the age.<sup>53</sup>

Jews were prominent in the fur trade, and in the clothing, tobacco, and dry goods businesses in San Francisco, and soon

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-64.

<sup>47</sup> Morais, pp. 184-87, 271; Henry Cohen, "Settlement of the Jews in Texas," *PAJHS*, II (1894), 139-56.

<sup>48</sup> Morais, pp. 241-45.

<sup>49</sup> Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *The History of the Jews of Richmond, 1769-1917* (Richmond: Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1917), pp. 160 ff.; Morais, p. 250.

<sup>50</sup> Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, p. 140; Elzas, p. 192.

<sup>51</sup> Masserman and Baker, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," pp. 13-14.

<sup>53</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 38; Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Age of the Moguls* (New York: Doubleday, 1953), p. 277.

became actively interested in the development of Alaska. They gave Senator Cornelius Cole of California valuable information which he transmitted to Secretary of State William Henry Seward, enabling him to make the decision to purchase the territory of Alaska from Russia. Some Jews settled in Alaska, and as early as 1869 a San Francisco Jewish paper reported that there were fourteen Jewish residents in Sitka. They even planned to organize a congregation there, but this did not eventuate. They retained their interest in American Jewish affairs, and one of them, A. Levy, wrote a letter protesting the 1869 Philadelphia conference of Reform rabbis.<sup>54</sup>

We have mentioned but a fraction of the innumerable activities of Jews. In the main, however, Jewish economic life fell into certain specific patterns. A rough tabulation of the number of business firms in existence in 1880 discloses that about 2 per cent were in finance, 4 per cent in jewelry, 6 per cent in tobacco, and approximately 50 per cent were in clothing and allied occupations. The rest were in miscellaneous businesses.<sup>55</sup>

Clothing was easily the principal Jewish business activity on the East Coast, in the South, in the Middle West, and in the Far West.<sup>56</sup> The production of men's ready-made clothes had begun in the 1820's, and by 1840 this industry was considered of some significance in the economy of New York City. Between 1830 and 1860 most of the ready-made clothing was of the cheap variety for sailors, coal miners, and the poor. Better clothes were still being made to order. Until about 1850 most

<sup>54</sup> Rudolph Glanz, *The Jews in American Alaska, 1867-1880* (New York, 1953), pp. 4-43.

<sup>55</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," p. 24; for a detailed listing, see Tarshish, "The Rise of American Judaism," note 170.

<sup>56</sup> Minute Book, Register of Marriages of Temple Emanu-El of New York, 1845-1897; Goode, "Jewish Economic Life, 1830-1860"; Glazer, pp. 196 ff.; Snyder, *History of Congregation Brith Sholom of Springfield, Illinois*.

of the tailors were English or native Americans. Then many of the new Irish immigrants entered the industry, to be followed by the Germans who soon began to dominate it.

The introduction of the sewing machine in 1850 did much to stimulate the expansion of the industry. Efficiency was greatly increased, and mass production was begun by the Germans, who introduced the division of labor. Separate workers were used for operating the machines, basting, finishing, etc. Then came the Civil War which, as we have seen, created a tremendous demand for ready-made clothing.

Thus the industry came into its own, and the following statistics reveal the story. In 1850 there were some 4,200 shops with a capital investment of \$12,500,000 producing \$48,000,000 worth of products with 96,000 workers. By 1860 there were fewer shops (the shops had become larger), some 4,000 of them, but the capital investment had more than doubled: \$27,000,000. Production, too, had almost doubled and could now be estimated as worth about \$80,000,000. The workers had increased, but not nearly proportionately; there were some 115,000. In 1870 there were some 8,000 concerns, about twice as many as there had been in 1860, but capital investment was almost \$150,000,000, approximately six times what it had been in 1860. Because of the introduction of machinery, however, the number of workers actually dropped to 108,000. By 1880 the number of firms had decreased to some 6,000, but, having more machinery, these larger concerns were able to manufacture clothing worth \$209,000,000.<sup>57</sup>

Jewish success in the clothing industry resulted not only from mass production, but also from the innovations of such new methods as small profits, reduced prices, direct selling, the use of specialized clothing stores, and the like. The number of

<sup>57</sup> Judith Greenfeld, *ibid.*, II-III, 180-204.



Jewish clothing houses throughout the country was legion. Practically every large city had some important clothing manufacturer. The firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx of Chicago was probably the most famous.<sup>58</sup> In New York City, 80 per cent of all retail, and 90 per cent of all wholesale clothing firms, were owned by Jews. In the rest of the country, 75 per cent of the clothing companies were Jewish, and most of them were controlled by Jews.<sup>59</sup> The department store, the eventual outgrowth of the clothing store, appeared in almost every city throughout the country, most of them owned by Jews. Macy's, Saks's, Gimbel's, Lit's, Snellenburg's, and Bamberger's are only a few of the numerous department stores which spread throughout the land and provided efficient buying for millions of Americans.

Jews became prominent in the shoe industry and were leaders in the field for a number of years, with Cincinnati and Chicago as the principal centers. Probably the most famous firm was that of the Florsheim Shoe Company of Chicago.<sup>60</sup> The junk business had its beginning in this period and gradually became controlled by Jews. A number of steel companies, though not the largest ones, grew from some of these businesses, among which were the Inland Steel Company of Chicago, the Pollak Steel Company of Cincinnati, and the Schonthal Steel Company of Columbus, Ohio.<sup>61</sup>

Although only 2 per cent of Jewish business was in finance, banking, and brokerage, this proportion was greater than that of the general population. Jews were instrumental in the development of railroads, in the underwriting of United States

<sup>58</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 1-3.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

bonds, and in the expansion of many new industries. The great New York firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company played an important part in the expansion of the "iron horse," especially under the leadership of Jacob H. Schiff, who came to the United States in 1865.<sup>62</sup>

The Seligman brothers also engaged in financing Western railroads and provided subscribers for the \$200,000,000 loan which Jay Cooke floated for the United States Government during the Civil War. Associated with them was August Belmont, who, as the American representative of the Rothschilds, became one of the richest Jews in the United States. *The Dictionary of American Biography* estimates that Belmont's most valuable service for the North during the Civil War was perhaps "a constant correspondence with influential friends in Europe, the Rothschilds and others, in which he set forth forcibly the Northern side in the great conflict . . . . His influence upon public opinion in financial and political circles, both in England and throughout Continental Europe, was of value to Lincoln and his advisors." Belmont's wife was a non-Jewess, a daughter of Commodore Matthew C. Perry, and he showed very little interest in Jewish affairs. His descendants are all Christians.<sup>63</sup>

The Lehmans, Emanuel and Mayer, amassed wealth as cotton brokers, then went into the banking business, and became directors of many banks, railroads, and cotton mills. When the State of Alabama, in 1873, had difficulty in selling a large issue of bonds, the Lehmans took over the whole issue.<sup>64</sup> Other Jews active in the expansion of railroads were William Solomon Rayner of Baltimore; Charles Hallgarten and Company of Chicago; Philip Heidelberg, who founded the Cincinnati

<sup>62</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," pp. 14-16; Burton J. Hendrick, *The Jews in America* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1923), pp. 19 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Schappes, pp. 451 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," p. 37.

firm of Seasingood and Company, promoted the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, and was a director of the Little Miami Railroad; and Moritz Kopperl, who made his wealth as a coffee importer and then became head of the National Bank of Texas and president of the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railroad.<sup>65</sup>

There were a number of other leading Jewish bankers throughout the country in both large and small cities.<sup>66</sup> The banking and commercial interests of Ligonier, Indiana, were for a time so exclusively in the hands of the Straus brothers that the town was often jokingly called Strausville.<sup>67</sup> When the Open Board of Stockbrokers was organized in 1851 in New York City, five Jewish stockbrokers were among the charter members: George Henriques, Emanuel B. Hart, Charles G. Allen, S. M. Schafer, and Simon Schafer.<sup>68</sup> Albert Speyer was the broker for Jay Gould and James Fisk when they tried to corner the gold market in 1869. When the attempt failed, they repudiated their obligations, but Speyer did not, and died a poor man.<sup>69</sup>

Approximately 34 per cent of all Jews were in commerce, manufacturing, and finance, the majority being in commerce. In the small communities this percentage was even higher. In the larger communities many more were employees.<sup>70</sup> Proportionately, this percentage was much higher than that of the general population, most of whom were laborers, farmers, or craftsmen.

<sup>65</sup> Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore from Early Days to 1910* (Baltimore: Historical Review Publishing Co., 1910), p. xi; Goode, "Jewish Economic Life, 1830-1860"; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 21-22.

<sup>66</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," p. 32, note 173; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 10-12.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> Lelyveld, p. 141.

<sup>69</sup> Samuel Walker McCall, *The Patriotism of the American Jew* (New York: Plymouth Press, 1924), p. 190.

<sup>70</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 24-26.

For centuries, of course, the only opportunity permitted Jews in economic life was that of the middleman. When they came to the United States they naturally went first into those fields which they knew and understood. Jewish leaders exhorted them to follow the normal proportions of economic life. But they were not interested in proportions; they were more interested in using their abilities to make the most of the opportunities which the country opened before them.<sup>71</sup>

This disproportion in the commercial field aroused criticism. An article in the *Cincinnati Presbyterian* in 1863 charged that the commercial character of the Jews was one reason why they were despised.<sup>72</sup> In 1855 the *Philadelphia Reporter* claimed that the Jews oppressed the working people, but another Philadelphia paper, *The Ledger*, pointed out that Jews paid their employees higher wages than Christians.<sup>73</sup> In 1857, claiming that Catholic workers were not well treated by Jews, the Archbishop of Cincinnati forbade Catholics to work for them. Rabbi Max Lilienthal disputed the charge and threatened to urge a Jewish boycott of Catholic business firms. When the Catholic banker who had presented the charges to the archbishop absconded with the savings of widows and orphans, his followers were extremely embarrassed.<sup>74</sup>

Undoubtedly, some Jewish employers did take advantage of their employees, but, unfortunately, so did many others. The rise of the labor unions and the development of enlightened public opinion modified this situation as time went on.

<sup>71</sup> Circular of the Hebrew Agricultural Society, December, 1856, in the files of the Hebrew Agricultural Society among the records of the B'nai B'rith; *The Israelite*, I (1854), 44; *ibid.*, IX (1863), 388; *The Occident*, XVIII (1860), 143.

<sup>72</sup> *The Israelite*, IX (1863), 388.

<sup>73</sup> *The Occident*, XIII (1855-56), 124 ff.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII (1860), 23.

## LABOR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Although unusual opportunities for prosperity prevailed in this period, America was no Shangri-la. Poverty still existed in the United States. Every man did not leap from rags to riches, and many abuses were rampant in this period of *laissez faire*.

Labor unions began in the United States in 1829, but did not at first coalesce into large-scale organizations. In addition to seeking better working conditions and wages, they also expressed a deep interest in free education and were instrumental in its incorporation as an integral part of the American tradition. The labor movement in the United States and the idea of the class struggle were continually nourished from Europe. Sporadic strikes were attempted from time to time, although very few were really effective. Perhaps the most far-reaching strike of the early period was that of the tailors in 1850. It was not entirely successful, but it did help to cement relations between tailors of different nationalities and it did result in the formation of a union consisting of 2,000 members. The depression of 1854-1855 and the panic of 1857, however, broke up most of the unions. But again, by 1863-1864, a number of strikes for higher wages and other benefits initiated a new effort to form labor unions, most of them also short-lived.

New York was the center of the early German labor movement in America, but it spread elsewhere wherever German labor settled — Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and, to a minor degree, Chicago and Milwaukee. In the twenty years before the Civil War, German workers played a significant role wherever labor battled with capital. They also organized social clubs and mutual aid societies which frequently developed into unions. These groups were constantly influenced by new refugees from abroad who had often been active in secret communistic societies and had been harried out of their native

countries. Short-lived papers were published from time to time. One of these, called the *Republik der Arbeiter* (Republic of the Workers), was published by an *Arbeiterbund* (Workers' League) dedicated to founding and supporting a communist colony in Wisconsin. This paper appeared as a monthly in January, 1850, became a weekly from April, 1851, to December, 1854, and then reverted to a monthly until its discontinuance in July, 1855.

While the intellectuals influenced the workers, their attitude, in turn, was modified by American workers who were not interested in the destruction of American political institutions, but sought, rather, economic improvement and reform within the existing political framework.<sup>75</sup> Even though small groups of intellectuals were convinced that the only solution for economic problems lay in some utopian project, and though they did form small colonies with the purpose of putting into practice the ideal of a completely equal and free society, these experiments were all short-lived. It was hard, moreover, for such ideas to take root in an America where, for example, it could be reported in 1849 that on the West Coast carpenters received \$16 a day, and common laborers \$10 a day.<sup>76</sup>

Nevertheless, after the Civil War, branches of the International Workingman's Association, established first in Europe in 1864, were organized in some of the industrial centers of the United States, first only among German immigrants and then among some native Americans. The first number of the weekly *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Workers' Newspaper) was issued in 1873. A Social Democratic Party was organized by German immigrants in 1874, but its meetings were raided by the police and by

<sup>75</sup> Ernst, pp. 109-14.

<sup>76</sup> Frederika Brenner, *America of the Fifties* ("Scandinavian Classics," Vol. XXIII [New York: The American Scandinavian Foundation, 1924]).

outraged citizens.<sup>77</sup> Socialism had little appeal in a country where the opportunities of private wealth were greater than the dreams of the socialistic state.

Labor groups not interested in theories and utopias but in wages and hours of work had slightly more success. In 1866 the National Labor Movement, the first general organization, was formed, but lasted only four years. As the country became more industrialized, however, the demand for an organized labor group became more insistent. In 1879 a national union, the Knights of Labor, was organized with the purpose of uniting all labor — white and negro, male and female. It departed from the old type of craft union based on the medieval guild because it was felt that the industrial conditions of the time required more complete unionization than the crafts could achieve. It was, however, ahead of the times. The rapidly changing social and economic situation, the incompetence of some of its leaders, and the illiteracy of many of its members led to its dissolution.

It was not until 1881 that the first labor union destined to occupy a permanent and important place in American life came into being. The American Federation of Labor was organized by Adolph Strasser and Samuel Gompers, the latter an English Jew. A federation of craft unions, it was more efficient and realistic in its goals than the Knights of Labor. Its real power, however, was not achieved until the twentieth century.<sup>78</sup>

The majority of the people at that time were not interested in labor unions, and many violently opposed them as hindrances to their aspirations towards prosperity. The great West, stretching from the Mississippi River to the Pacific, with its cheap farms, its great mineral deposits, and its growing towns, served

<sup>77</sup> Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), II, 249-52.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-22.

as a safety valve for the East. The slogan "Go West, young man" was more effective than the cry of the class struggle. Even in the East, expansion and opportunity, surpassing any in the history of the world, provided sufficient vistas and actual improvement for the majority of the people. Most of the Jews of the period showed little interest in labor unions or in plans for changing society. Compared to the restrictions of their former homes, the American scene offered wide freedom and hope. Instead of being concerned with changing society, they were more interested in changing and adjusting themselves to take advantage of what lay before them.

The problem of labor and capital appeared to many only a temporary matter. Most workers in garment factories had high hopes of becoming employers themselves, and it must be remembered that the majority of Jews of that period were engaged in small businesses and individualized occupations. To them, the basic problem was simply to make the most of the opportunities offered them.

### JEW IN THE PROFESSIONS

Some Jews did enter the professions. In Cincinnati, in 1867, there were four doctors, six lawyers, fourteen teachers, one chemist, and one engineer in a Jewish population of some 12,000. In 1874, with approximately the same population, there were eight doctors, fourteen lawyers, fourteen teachers, and others in various professional vocations. A similar percentage was found in New York and other cities.<sup>79</sup> These ratios were small compared with the present, for the mid-nineteenth century saw only the beginning of the rise of a substantial

<sup>79</sup> Blum, pp. 149 ff.; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XXXIII (1869), 53; *Die Neuzeit*, XIV (1874); *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, VI (1875), 421; Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1860-1875," pp. 34, 37, and other directories in his two essays.



Jewish professional class. The great majority of the Jews were new to the country. Professional pursuits had been forbidden to them in Europe, and not enough time had elapsed for them to receive the necessary education in the United States. It is true that a number of the earlier Jewish settlers were engaged in professions, but business offered the newly arrived Jew the quickest avenue for advancement.

### AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was one of the hotly debated subjects of Jewish life at this time, but there was more debate about it than action. Many Jewish leaders believed that more Jews should engage in agriculture to produce a more normal distribution of occupations and to demonstrate a more permanent rootage in America. The Board of Delegates of American Israelites, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the B'nai B'rith, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and other organizations planned to settle Jews upon farms.

In the early part of that period very little was accomplished along these lines, but in 1881 the New York branch of the Alliance Israélite Universelle joined with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in a project to settle East European Jews on farms in Louisiana. The governor of that state had offered 160 acres of fertile ground in Catahoula Parish to any family desiring to settle there. One hundred and seventy-three Russian Jews accepted the offer, but the plan proved a failure. The men found the weather too hot, many contracted malaria, the Mississippi River flooded the land, and they missed their wives and families. Eventually they all abandoned the project.

Solomon Franklin of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, tried to settle 200 East European Jews on his farmland, but nothing came of this venture either. Nevertheless, a few colonies of Jewish farmers

were established in California; Louisiana; Long Island, New York; as well as near St. Louis, Missouri, and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. The Baron Maurice de Hirsch philanthropies were partially successful in settling a group of Jewish farmers in New Jersey in the 1890's. Individually, there were a number of Jews who became active in farming in various sections of the country. A Jewish traveler reported that he had found a number of Jewish shepherders in California, one of them owning 30,000 sheep.<sup>80</sup> But the percentage of Jewish farmers remained small. The long centuries of European persecution and the legal restrictions against Jews' owning land had had their effect. The Jews of this era were not conditioned in mind or habit to go onto the land. As time went on, however, more Jews did become farmers.

<sup>80</sup> *The Asmonean*, IV (1851), 15; *ibid.*, XII (1855), 20; *The Occident*, XVII (1860), 295; Morais, chapter XXXV; Max Heller, *Jubilee Souvenir of Temple Sinai, New Orleans, 1872-1922* (New Orleans, 1922), wherein is described an attempt on the part of the New York branch of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, with the cooperation of the governor of Louisiana, to settle Jews in Catahoula Parish, Louisiana, in 1881; *Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations* (Cincinnati: Bloch), I (1873-79), 282; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XIX (1855), 565, describes the organization of an Agricultural Society in New York in 1855; *ibid.*, XXI (1857), 132, describes the organization in New York of the American Jewish Agricultural Society; *ibid.*, XXIV (1860), 653, reports the efforts of Myer Friede, president of Congregation Bene El of St. Louis, with the assistance of a member of the Missouri Legislature, to give free land to German Jewish settlers; *ibid.*, XXXVI (1872), 854, reports another plan for settlement near Pine Bluff, Arkansas; American Jewish Historical Society (AJHS), letter 307b, Alliance Israélite Universelle to the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, July 12, 1872; AJHS, letter 307c, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites to Rev. M. Fluegel, Pine Bluff, Ark., August 21, 1872; AJHS, letter 307e; AJHS, letter 225, Simon Bermann, New York, to the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, May 23, 1860; Minute Book of the Executive Committee of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, June 6, 1860; Proceedings of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1877; I. J. Benjamin, *Drei Jahre in Amerika, 1859-62* (Hanover, Germany, 1862), pp. 234 ff.; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, XXXVIII (1874), 612.

DAVID LUBIN

There was in the United States a Jew who, though not a farmer, contributed greatly to farming and agriculture. David Lubin was born in Poland in 1849. He settled in California, went into the dry goods business, introduced the one-price system, and became popular throughout the region because of his honesty and kindness. He became interested in agriculture as the farmers, who were his customers, discussed their problems with him. At first he felt that local groups of farmers should unite for co-operative action. Then he realized the need for association on a state-wide basis and, finally, the necessity of national and international organization. He came to the conclusion that an International Institute of Agriculture was vital for the well-being of farmers throughout the world.

Retiring from business, Lubin devoted all his energies toward fulfilling such a plan. Unable to convince the authorities in Washington, he went to Europe and visited one capital after another. Eventually he persuaded Victor Emmanuel III, the king of Italy, to sponsor the International Institute of Agriculture, which was first convoked in 1905. The king donated a building, a permanent Institute was established, and David Lubin became the United States representative, serving until his death. Later this Institute was merged with the League of Nations, and now is part of the United Nations.<sup>81</sup>

SUMMARY

Was the Jew a follower or a leader in business? Did he pioneer in forming new economic patterns, or did he simply accept the situations which he found? The Jew did pioneer in the clothing

<sup>81</sup> George Cohen, *The Jews in the Making of America* (Boston: Stratford Co., 1924), p. 134.

business; he developed it on the basis of mass production, and brought about democracy in men's attire. In this field he took the lead in initiating the practice of smaller profits and lower prices. He helped to create the department store as a normal part of the American scene.

During the Civil War, many Jewish bankers were able, through their European connections, to tap for the United States Government sources of funds not available to others. Individual Jewish bankers helped to develop the railroad industry in various parts of the country. Jewish businessmen in many towns were leaders in the growth of their communities. Joseph Pulitzer was an outstanding personality in the newspaper field. As individuals, a number of Jews pioneered in many areas.

It must be remembered that Jews constituted a small minority and did not control any field except clothing. As a group, they usually followed the patterns set before them, though individually many exercised leadership and ingenuity. Small Jewish bankers in the outposts took risks and displayed daring in many business operations. It can be said generally that in the fields in which they were interested they contributed much in leadership, courage, ingenuity, and foresight. Proportionately, more Jews were employers than other Americans. In the smaller centers, their ratio as businessmen was sometimes as high as 85 per cent or 90 per cent. In the larger centers less than one-third of the Jews were heads of businesses, and a little more than two-thirds were employees.<sup>82</sup> Since 75 per cent of the Jews lived in the larger cities, it is obvious that the majority of them were employees.<sup>83</sup> Many Jews became prosperous but, in the main, they did not approach the imperial wealth of the

<sup>82</sup> Pilchik, "Economic Life, 1875-1880," pp. 5-6.

<sup>83</sup> A summary of the activities and business interests of Jews in various parts of the country in the period between 1870 and 1880 is given in Tarshish, "The Rise of American Judaism," note 207.

Morgans, Drexels, Hills, Rockefellers, and the other great economic tycoons of this period.

It can be said, in summation, that, though Jews figured in most enterprises as individuals, they were chiefly concentrated in the mercantile pursuits, especially clothing. There were only a few Jewish farmers and a sprinkling of professionals. The Jew tended to be an independent merchant. He engaged in many risk activities. He was helpful, in greater proportion than his numbers, in the expansion and development of the country. He was not so poor as the poorest, but not so rich as the richest. He bulked large in the middle class.



## A Retrospective View of Isaac Leeser's Biblical Work

MATITIAHU TSEVAT

A LITTLE over a hundred years ago a memorable event occurred in American Jewish history: the publication of Isaac Leeser's English translation of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>1</sup> With this translation Leeser gave to the American Jews what was to become perhaps their most important book for two generations of Jews fully or partially absorbed into American society and culture. He gave them the version of the Bible which they were to use in synagogues, schools, and homes until 1917, when it was replaced by a newer translation issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America.

The centennial of Leeser's translation was duly marked in 1953 by Anita L. Lebeson,<sup>2</sup> who noted the laudatory remarks of such historians and literary critics as Moshe Davis, Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx, and Meyer Waxman. Yet, to the knowledge of this writer, no detailed appreciation of the

Dr. Matitahu Tsevat is Assistant Professor of Bible and Special Librarian of the Semitics Collection at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

I cordially thank my friends Maxwell Whiteman and Stanley F. Chyet for their manifold assistance in the preparation of this article.

<sup>1</sup> The book was published in December, 1853, but was unavailable to the public until January, 1854.

<sup>2</sup> *Congress Weekly*, XX (No. 37; December 28, 1953), 11-13.

translation has been attempted. It should be put off no longer. Time has granted our generation the aloofness from an unwarranted praise and blame which cannot be expected from the readers and scholars to whom Leeser's Bible was a steady and personal experience,<sup>3</sup> and the prediction, made in 1920, that "we shall soon be thinking of putting Isaac Leeser's memory in a museum of Jewish antiquities as a specimen of a lost type," has become true. The prognosis is the concluding sentence of Israel Abrahams' fine essay, "Leeser's Bible."<sup>4</sup> Abrahams concerned himself mainly with the English style of the translation, a style which he deemed so poor that he believed that this was the main reason why English Jews did not accept Leeser's version.<sup>5</sup> This writer will, therefore, pay no attention to its English garb, and will refer the reader to the discussion by Abrahams.

Leeser's work on the Bible was not limited to the 1853 translation. In 1845 he had published an edition of the Pentateuch in Hebrew and English and, in 1848, a Hebrew Bible. The latter<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The discussion on the translation was opened by Isidor Kalisch soon after its publication (*The Israelite*, I [1854], 21 f., 59, 170). Kalisch reviewed Genesis, the beginning of Exodus, and a few verses from Isaiah 53. Some of his strictures are right, some wrong, some petty, some nasty. A rejoinder by Isaac Mayer appeared in *The Occident*, XII (1854), 358-64, to which the translator himself added some remarks.

<sup>4</sup> Israel Abrahams, *By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland* (Philadelphia, 1920), pp. 254-59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Rosenbach, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXX (1926), 431, No. 625, records the edition as follows:

תורה נביאים וכתובים, seu Biblia Hebraica secundum editiones Jos. Athiae, Joannis Leusden, Jo. Simonis aliorumque, inprimis Everardi van der Hooght, D. Henrici opitii, et Wolfii Heidenham, cum additionibus clavique masoretica et rabbinica Augusti Hahn. Nunc denuo et emandata [emendata?] ab Isaaco Leeser, V.D.M. Synagogae Mikve Israel, Phila. et Josepho Jaquett, V.D.M. Presbyter Prot. Epis. Ecclesiae, U.S. Editio stereotypa. Novi Eboraci: Sumptibus Joannis Wiley, 161 Broadway; et Londini, 13 Paternoster Row. Philadelphia: J. W. Moore typis L. Johnson et soc. Phila. 1848.



is a fine piece of printing as well as a careful edition of the text. Leeser gives due credit to earlier editions of which he made full use, particularly the edition issued by August Hahn, whose three prefaces and lists he incorporated into his own edition. Those lists include two tables of the *haftarot* (readings from the Prophets), one in the order of the weekly portions, the other in the order of the biblical books from which they are taken; and an alphabetical index of the Hebrew and Aramaic Masoretic terms used in the footnotes, with translations, explanations, and examples. All prefatory matter and lists, with the exception of the first, are in Latin.

In his own preface, Leeser correctly says that this is the first vocalized Bible printed in America. This statement implicitly takes cognizance of the publication of another, yet unvocalized edition of the Bible on this side of the Atlantic. This is the edition prepared anonymously by Jonas (Jonathan) Horwitz, and published by Thomas Dobson in Philadelphia in 1814.<sup>7</sup> Leeser performed a philological and practical service when he published a complete Masoretic Bible, i. e., one with vowel signs and accents. At the same time, the publication of the vocalized text could be, and probably was to be, understood as a silent protest against certain anti-Jewish prejudices which had been voiced on the occasion of the publication of the 1814 Bible when the vowel points "were spoken of by local theologians as a Jewish scheme to make the acquisition of Hebrew difficult."<sup>8</sup>

Jaquett's contribution consists of a comparison of the collections of various readings of Benjamin Kennicott and Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi and also certain earlier editions.

<sup>7</sup> Edwin Wolf 2nd and Maxwell Whiteman, *The History of the Jews in Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the Age of Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 308-11.

<sup>8</sup> *The Quarterly Theological Magazine*, III (1814), 168, cited in Wolf and Whiteman, p. 310. This argument is a latter-day link in the chain of Christian accusations,

Another passage in Leaser's preface sheds some light on his philosophy. After saying that he was compelled to make a very limited selection among various available readings, he gives the principles of his selection: *Manuscriptuum bonorum possessio facile hoc pensum [scil. seligendi] fecisset; sed his non presentibus, reflectio religiosa et typographiarum variarum comparatio vices ex necessitate suppeditaissent.*<sup>9</sup> To the modern reader, this statement of principles comes as a surprise. Not only is the reader unwilling a priori to allow any religious considerations to influence the reconstruction of a text, but he is doubtful as to how considerations of this order can solve strictly technical questions, particularly since the variants from which the scholar has to make his selection concern only the tiniest minutiae and in no way touch on the contents of Scripture, much less on articles of faith. Deferring to the end of this article an attempt at a fuller

beginning with the Church Fathers, that the Jews manipulated the biblical text in order to buttress their position in Christian-Jewish theological disputes. It is needless to stress that it was not Horwitz's intention to clear access to the Hebrew Bible by removing vicious Masoretic roadblocks. Rather, the reason is plainly expressed in an announcement of the new publisher, Dobson, who says that "this edition will be unencumbered with the Masoretic points now generally exploded by the best scholarship in the Hebrew language" (Wolf and Whiteman, p. 310). Dobson's statement is quite unexceptional if read in the broader context of certain trends within eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century biblical philology especially in France (cf. the second part, pp. xix-xxvii, of L. F. Lalande's preface to the fourth edition [1781] of F. Masclef, *Grammatica Hebraica punctis massoreticis libera*) and England (mentioned in Wilhelm Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* . . . [1815], p. 209, notes). The Syriac Bible did not fare better. When Samuel Lee published a new edition for the British Bible Society in 1823 (1824), his only "contribution" to Syriac philology was the omission of the vowel signs from the text of Bryan Walton's and Edmund Castell's polyglot of 1654-1657, which he otherwise reproduced faithfully. At the time it was thought that by omitting something one made a contribution.

<sup>9</sup> "Good manuscripts would render this task [of selecting] easy; in their absence, religious consideration[s] and comparison of various printed books had alternately to suffice."

discussion of Leeser's approach, I do nothing more than mention these problems here.

It is convenient, in what follows, to treat Leeser's edition of the Pentateuch and his later translation of the whole Bible as one. In 1845 he published the Pentateuch in Hebrew and English complete with *haftarot*,<sup>10</sup> a work of which he says with some reason: "I doubt whether the precious word of God ever appeared among us [Jews] in a more beautiful form than the volumes . . . of which the present is the first."<sup>11</sup> This is, remarkably enough, the only instance in which he speaks of his biblical work in terms other than modesty and humility. The Pentateuch is, of course, not merely the first and most important part of the Bible, but also the center of the Sabbath and festival services, and it is for this reason that Leeser must have been particularly anxious to see a Hebrew and English edition of it in the hands of his fellow Jews.

But the Pentateuch was only preparatory to his 1853 translation of the Bible.<sup>12</sup> Engaged in this translation since 1838,<sup>13</sup> Leeser thus realized "a desire [which he had] entertained for more than a quarter of a century."<sup>14</sup> He incorporated his earlier pentateuchal translation into his later work, but revised it by

<sup>10</sup> תורת אלהים. הוגה מאתי הקטן יצחק בן אורי ז'ל' ו' אליעזר. פה פילאדילפיה בבית וברפוס של הגביר קנו שרמן במצות המסדר בשנת תורה צוה לנו משה לפ"ק. *The Law of God. Edited, with Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, by Isaac Leeser* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 5605 [1844-1845]).

<sup>11</sup> Preface, p. vii. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century editions, which many would indeed find more beautiful, were probably unknown to Leeser.

<sup>12</sup> תורה נביאים וכתובים *The Twenty-Four Books of the Holy Scriptures: Carefully Translated According to the Massoretic Text, on the Basis of the English Version, after the Best Jewish Authorities; and Supplied with Short Explanatory Notes* (Philadelphia, 5614 [1853-1854]).

<sup>13</sup> Pentateuch, Preface, p. 5; Bible, Preface, at the end.

<sup>14</sup> Bible, Preface, at the beginning.

carefully changing the wording on almost every page<sup>15</sup> and by providing it with notes that were more copious.<sup>16</sup>

In his prefaces to the translations, Leeser explained his purpose: to present them "to the Jewish public,"<sup>17</sup> "to his fellow-Israelites."<sup>18</sup> Their usefulness to the Gentiles, Leeser proposed, lay in the fact that they embodied the Jewish understanding of the Bible as enshrined in an age-old tradition.<sup>19</sup> This Jewish understanding was not, however, to be regarded on the same plane with other understandings. It was, Leeser declared, the *true* understanding because it comes closest to the

<sup>15</sup> As an example of relatively far-reaching changes, we give in juxtaposition three verses from Genesis 49, a chapter which hardly anyone will ever translate to his own satisfaction. In the case of passages of lesser difficulty, Leeser naturally had less occasion to make changes.

#### Pentateuch

<sup>4</sup> Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel . . . then defiledst thou my couch, which I was wont to ascend.

<sup>9</sup> A lion's whelp thou art, Judah, when from the prey, my son, thou risest. . .

<sup>13</sup> Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be at the haven of ships; and his border shall be unto Zidon.

#### Bible

Unstable as water, thou shalt not have the excellence . . . then defiledst thou the one who ascended my couch.

Like a lion's whelp, O Judah, from the prey, my son, thou risest. . .

Zebulun shall dwell at the margin of the seas; and he shall be at the haven of ships; and his border shall be near Zidon.

With respect to verse 13 in the translation of 1853, Leeser was concerned with English style and translated the same Hebrew word (חוף) by two English words ("margin" and "haven"). Thus he surrendered his faithful adherence to the Hebrew diction which is found in the translation of 1845, and which is a paramount principle in the translation of the Bible. Cf. Franz Rosenzweig, "Die Schrift und Luther," in Martin Buber und Franz Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (1936), pp. 116 f.

<sup>16</sup> About a sixth of the book (Preface, at the end). In the preface to the Pentateuch, p. x, he regrets that he could not provide more notes to that work.

<sup>17</sup> Pentateuch, Preface, at the beginning.

<sup>18</sup> Bible, Preface, at the beginning.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. iv, at the top.

intentions of the biblical authors. To show this, one had only to render a faithful translation into a modern language. Leeser, therefore, "endeavored to make [the translation] as literal as possible."<sup>20</sup> He had "translated the text before him without regard to the result thence arising for his creed,"<sup>21</sup> and had "discarded every preconceived opinion."<sup>22</sup> "But," he goes on, "no perversion or forced rendering of any text was needed to bear out his opinions or those of Israelites in general." Judaism did not require "the distortion of the sacred text."<sup>23</sup> If it had, Leeser asserted, he would still not have deviated from rendering the text verbally.<sup>24</sup>

One need not be a student of the Bible or of Jewish tradition and history to realize that Leeser wanted the impossible. Centuries of growth and development left their indelible impressions on the Bible. The even greater changes of post-biblical times have continuously remolded Judaism, and with it its ideal foundation: its continuous interpretation of the Bible. The established, hence static, biblical text and its dynamic reinterpretation thus became two entities. Objectively, each was autonomous and self-contained, the common element being the identity of written matter — a chapter, a word, a letter — there text, here proof text. Subjectively, they were — and are — a unity wherever it has been felt that the permanence and identity of Judaism are preserved despite the changes and vicissitudes of Jewish history. Yet the subjective cannot be made objective. A translator of the Bible who makes a forced attempt to objectify the subjective brushes aside the essence either of

<sup>20</sup> Pentateuch, Preface, p. vii.

<sup>21</sup> Bible, p. iii, at the bottom.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Pentateuch, *ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

Jewish tradition or of philology whenever the two entities conflict. As translator and annotator, Leeser did the latter.

With these remarks we have indicated in which aspect of Leeser's translation we are interested: his attempt to carry out the program which he laid down in his prefaces. Other aspects are of little concern. It would be neither fair nor intelligent to select knotty verses and then draw up a questionnaire and present it to the examinee, Isaac Leeser. Not only has biblical science progressed during the last hundred years; its methods and results are better known to, and more readily accepted by, the educated public today than they were in the middle of the nineteenth century. Throughout the millennia, moreover, prominent versions of the Bible have often been distinguished or properly appraised not by the linguistic accuracy with which they rendered difficult passages, but by their achievement of a specific synthesis between the ancient book and the genius of their times.

As to Leeser, the translator, his Hebrew knowledge cannot be questioned too seriously, despite some contemporary attacks.<sup>25</sup> Although he modestly disclaimed advanced Hebrew learning, he was sufficiently equipped linguistically to handle his task.<sup>26</sup> Translations and commentaries were at his disposal, and he fully acknowledged his indebtedness to them, specifically to the King James Version, to the German Jewish translations from Moses Mendelssohn to Ludwig Philippson and Leopold Zunz,<sup>27</sup> and to the medieval Jewish commentators.

<sup>25</sup> See note 3, above.

<sup>26</sup> Harry M. Orlinsky says with even greater affirmation: "... the scholarship [of Leeser's translation] in general was on a consistently high level" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, XLV [1954-1955], 380).

<sup>27</sup> In several hundred notes, found in the margins of most pages, as well as in the preface (p. iii), explicit credit is given to Philippson. If any adverse criticism be called for, it would rather be the reverse, viz., that Leeser referred to Philippson

The course of our study is thus further charted: we will, as a rule, compare his translation and notes with his immediate sources. To trace the more remote sources is beyond the scope of an investigation which is not concerned with the history of biblical interpretation, e. g., the talmudic origin and the subsequent transformation of expositions and concepts embodied in medieval comments which Leeser quotes. Zunz's translation is cited by the name of its editor, Zunz, and not by the names of the translators of the several books. Nor are the individual contributors to the *Biur*<sup>28</sup> recognized here. For comparison with Philippson's translation only the revised edition of 1865 could be used.<sup>29</sup> We now proceed to discuss Leeser's rendering of selected passages.

Exodus 21:6, at the end. The Authorized (or King James) Version and Zunz: "... and he [i. e., the servant] shall serve him forever." Leeser's 1853 biblical translation: "... and he shall serve him till the jubilee," with the note: "Lit. 'for ever'; but servitude is hereafter (Leviticus 25:10) limited to the jubilee. . . ." In his 1845 pentateuchal translation, Leeser thought that this note, which follows the traditional explanation, was dispensable, and thus he left the reader with the impression that לעולם means "till the jubilee."

and Zunz more than was necessary in an edition for popular and liturgical use. After all, the translation and interpretation of the greatest part of the Bible are common property, or at least shared by several scholars. Yet Isaac M. Wise wrote in his obituary of Leeser that he had to convince Leeser, when the latter was preparing his translation, to use Philippson's work, since Leeser had at first been unwilling to consult a "reformer." Wise continues: "With admirable skill, he used Ph[ilippson, subsequent to the conversation] without betraying with one word that this was his main authority, in the notes especially" (*The Israelite*, XIV [No. 32; February 14, 1868]).

<sup>28</sup> Prague, 1833-1837.

<sup>29</sup> Since deviations from Philippson's earlier translation are indicated in the footnotes of the later edition, the earlier text can be reconstructed with fair certainty.

Ezekiel 20:25 f. reads in the Authorized Version:

[25] Wherefore<sup>30</sup> I gave them also statutes that were not good and judgments whereby they should<sup>31</sup> not live; [26] and I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through (the fire)<sup>32</sup> all that openeth the womb. . . .

This translation reproduces in the main what is written in the original Hebrew text.<sup>33</sup> The idea that God deliberately gave Israel bad and harmful laws has baffled readers and commentators throughout the ages. Leeser surmounts the obstacle by expurgating the text in his translation:

[25] And also I let them follow statutes that were not good. . . . [26] And I let them be defiled through their gifts, in that they caused to pass (through the fire) all that openeth the womb. . . .

The towering conception of God's plans for man leading Him to pervert His Law, as once He had perverted His prophecy (I Kings 22:21 f.), is reduced to a pedestrian restatement of man's free choice. The translation is then amplified by the note:

Rashi, after Jonathan; meaning, as they had wilfully rebelled, God permitted them to follow their evil inclinations, till the measure of their sin was completed, and their destruction followed, as told in our history. Zunz and Philipponson take it in the light that to the sinners the law is a means of punishment, as its transgression brings painful consequences [this is *not* their understanding, as the subsequent quotation clearly shows]; wherefore [?] the translation of Dr. P. is as follows: "And I also gave them laws which were injurious (to them), and ordinances through which they did not live; and I made them unclean through their gifts, when they set apart all that opened the womb," and so forth: taking בָּהֶעֱבִיר "as setting aside," not "as causing to pass (through the fire)," as given by Rashi.

<sup>30</sup> The Revised Standard Version [RSV] correctly reads "moreover" instead, and deletes the following "also."

<sup>31</sup> RSV better: "could."

<sup>32</sup> RSV preferably: "in making them offer by fire."

<sup>33</sup> The improvements of the RSV bring out the meaning more clearly, but it is all there in the Authorized Version, also.



He then concludes the note with a somersault: "But both constructions, though apparently so different, have at last the same bearing, since to the pious the law of God brings happiness and life, not evil and death."

Ecclesiastes 3:21. "Who knows whether the spirit of man goes upward and the spirit of the beast goes down to the netherworld." This translation of "the moderns," including Zunz,<sup>34</sup> is explicitly rejected by Leeser in a note in favor of the following ("after the Massorah"): "Who knoweth the spirit of the sons of man that ascendeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that descendeth downward to the earth?" It is indeed possible, but by no means certain, that such is the intention of the Masoretic vocalization.<sup>35</sup> In any event, the doctrine of immortality is only

<sup>34</sup> Philipsson similarly, though less accurately.

<sup>35</sup> It is possible, for the pointings הָעֵלָה and הַיִּרְדָּה are the regular vocalizations of the article, serving here as a relative pronoun. This explanation is supported by some midrashic explanations; particularly telling is the faulty quotation of the biblical passage in *Tanhuma* (Buber), *Berakah*, p. 56: וְרוּחַ הַבְּהֵמָה הִיא הַיִּרְדָּה, "and it is the spirit of the beast that goes down to the netherworld," which goes a long way towards eliminating an embarrassing biblical statement which questions the doctrine of the hereafter. On the other hand, it is not certain that such was the intention of the Masoretes. הָעֵלָה and הַיִּרְדָּה may simply be less common forms of the interrogative ה; cf. a number of examples listed by Alexander Sperber in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LXII (1943), 228-30. Nor does this alternative lack midrashic attestation: אֲנִי עֹדֵד לָמוֹת וְאִינִי יוֹדֵעַ לְהִיכֵן נַפְשִׁי הוֹלֶכֶת אִם לְשָׁמַיִם אִם לָאָרֶץ מִיִּן שְׁנֵאִמֵּר מִי יוֹדֵעַ רֹחַ בְּנֵי אָדָם הָעוֹלָה הִיא לְמַעַל וְהִיא לְמַעַל וְהִיא לְמַעַל וְהִיא לְמַעַל, "I [Moses] am going to die not knowing where my soul will go, to the heaven or to the netherworld, as it is said: 'Who knows whether the spirit of man goes upward, etc.' " (*Debarim Rabba*, *Ha'azinu*, at the end).

Incidentally, Leeser sometimes uses the term "Massorah" in a loose sense. In a note to the end of Exodus 7:25 he says: "The English version ends here the seventh chapter, but the Massoretic text commences chap. viii only with the fifth verse of the common version." It would have come as a slight shock, had he been told that the Jews had adopted for the Hebrew Bible the chapter division of the Vulgate in order to facilitate reference to biblical passages in Christian-Jewish disputations, since the Christians were wont to quote by chapters. The division of the Vulgate into chapters was made, in all probability, by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the early thirteenth century. For the whole question, see Shmuel Hakohen Weingarten's recent article, "חלוקת התורה לפרקים", *Sinai*, XLII (1957-

imperfectly salvaged, for Leeser translated verse 19: "... they [man and beast] have all one kind of spirit; so that the pre-eminence of man above the beast is nought." But the rules of Hebrew grammar — of any grammar — are violated, for the two nominative pronouns —  $\text{אֵלֶּם}$  — in their function as subjects of the simple clauses, do not admit other subjects — Leeser's  $\text{וְ}$  and  $\text{וְ}$  — in the same clauses.

I Samuel 3:3. Leeser's translation: "... while Samuel was lying down in (the hall of) the temple of the Lord, where the ark of God was." The words in parentheses are not in the text; Zunz and Philippon do not supply them. Leeser inserts them, with no note of justification, in order to comply with the Jewish tradition,<sup>36</sup> to which the Authorized Version accedes, that it is disrespectful to lie down in the temple proper.

Ezekiel 44:22b. "They [the priests] shall not marry a widow . . . but a widow who is the widow of a priest they may marry." This is the translation by the *Biur*, Zunz, and Philippon. Leeser mentions it in a note, but rejects it in favor of the following: "And a widow . . . shall they not take to themselves as wives . . . but whatever widow it may be, the (common) priests may take." It does not trouble him that his version lacks any textual support. He is anxious only to harmonize Ezekiel with Leviticus 21:7, 13 f., which forbids the marriage of a widow to a high priest alone and thus permits ordinary priests to marry any widow. But while he eliminates one conflict with faraway Leviticus, he creates another with the protasis of the very verse which he is translating: "and a widow . . . shall they not take," which refers to all priests, for the antecedent of "they" is "anyone

1958), 281-93. In the division of the seventh and eighth chapters of Exodus, the Authorized Version follows not the Vulgate, but the Masoretic, i. e., the received Jewish, tradition (*petuḥah*, after verse 25 and no paragraph after verse 29).

<sup>36</sup> Babylonian *Kiddushin* 78b.

of the priests" (verse 21). With this "translation" Leeser follows the traditional explanation to the point of rejecting the first of two interpretations by David Kimchi (1160-1235), an interpretation which preserves biblical harmony without violating the Hebrew language. In these chapters of Ezekiel envisaging the coming aeon, the prophet, according to Kimchi, sets higher standards of holiness than Moses did in the Pentateuch, whose laws apply to the present age; accordingly, the marriage of a widow will be forbidden to all priests, not only to the high priest. In this manner, Kimchi explains other troublesome passages in these paragraphs, but for Leeser these explanations apparently are not orthodox enough.

Ezekiel 44:26. The Hebrew text says: "After he [a priest who defiled himself for a deceased relative] is cleansed, one shall count for him seven days" before he may enter the sanctuary. Again Leeser's rendering is forced: he takes the apodosis ("one . . . days") out of the sentence by putting it within dashes, and makes verse 27 the apodosis instead. In so doing, Leeser follows Zunz and Philippson, but not the *Biur*, in order to avert a possible difference with Numbers 19:11, which knows nothing of an additional seven days of waiting. Kimchi gives two explanations, just as he does for 44:22, but Leeser takes no notice of them.

At times Leeser translates correctly and then gives his opinion of the passage in a note. In such cases, the note has not the function of clarifying an opaque sentence, but rather of telling the reader that the meaning is not what he might gather from the plain English of the translation.

Jeremiah 7:22 f. Leeser, like Zunz and Philippson:

[22] For I spoke not with your fathers, and I commanded them not on the day of my bringing them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offering or sacrifice; [23] But this thing did I command them, saying, Harken to my voice. . . .

As this word of Jeremiah contradicts the whole sacrificial legislation of the Pentateuch, Leaser cushions it with the following footnote which he has translated from Rashi: "The first condition was only, 'If you will hearken to my voice and keep my covenant, then shall you be to me a peculiar treasure' (Exodus 19:5)." Leaser neglects, however, to furnish the preceding verse (Jeremiah 7:21), unintelligible to the lay reader though it is, with some short comment which would render it meaningful.<sup>37</sup>

Psalms 78:39. "And he [God] remembered that they [the Israelites] are but flesh; a spirit that passeth away, and returneth not again." To this translation Leaser adds the note: "When death takes place, the spirit leaves the body and returns not to it in the course of nature; and death would be final unless the Creator himself gave new life." This is clearly the very opposite of what the text and its context say, but the plain meaning of the text cannot be accepted, *שאם אמרת כן כפרת בחייית המתים*<sup>38</sup> (Rashi, *ad locum*).

Ecclesiastes 11:9. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy childhood . . . and walk firmly in the ways of thy heart, and in (the direction which) thy eyes see; but know thou that concerning all these things God will bring thee into judgment." This translation is supplemented by the footnote: "Both Rashi and Aben Ezra interpret this verse in this way: 'See what the end will be, if thou follow the inclination of the heart; since punishment will thence result.' " Not content with this usable and dogmatically unassailable comment, Leaser goes on: "Otherwise it may mean, that man should well take heed to regulate his conduct by the divine will, and not follow blindly his heart and eyes (Numbers

<sup>37</sup> E. g., *Metzudat David*, *ad locum*.

<sup>38</sup> "Because if you do so [i. e., explain the passage literally] you deny the resurrection of the dead."

15:39); as otherwise he will meet the punishment due to transgression." Basically this is the same as the previous explanation by Rashi and Ibn Ezra — an explanation based in turn on the Midrash; the words, "otherwise it may mean," are, therefore, ill-chosen. And yet, there is a difference. The older commentators kept the idea of the verse veiled in the warning: "If you do this, then. . . , therefore remember what is good for you." This admonition is now crudely dragged into the open, lest anybody be scandalized by the clash with the verse from Numbers: "Do not follow after your own heart and after your own eyes which you are inclined to go after a whoring." The overcautious Leeser did not acquiesce in the Midrash's removal of the *skandalon* as long ago as 1,500 years.<sup>39</sup>

Of the ancient versions, the Targum, which is in fact as much a commentary as it is a translation (into Aramaic), is referred to frequently. References to the Septuagint are, however, rare. For his translation of Exodus 24:10, "... and the place under his feet . . .," Leeser adduces Zunz and the Septuagint, which he cites in Greek. The last word of Ecclesiastes 2:25, מִמֶּנִּי, Leeser translates, according to the Hebrew text, as "more than I," but he mentions in a note an alternative translation, "from him," i. e., from God, which is based on the Septuagint, whose *Vorlage* he correctly gives as "מִמֶּנִּי." It is possible that he got this from Philippson, who refers to Georg Heinrich August Ewald. To Philippson, "after the Septuagint," he gives credit for the alternative translation of אֲשֵׁי עֵנָבִים, "cakes of raisins" (Hosea 3:1, note).<sup>40</sup> The Targum is also quoted as an authority

<sup>39</sup> Shemuel bar Yitzhak, quoted in several Midrashim. For the authenticity of the saying, see Solomon Buber, *Pesikta de Rab Kahana*, leaf 68b, n. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Preferable to "flagons of wine" of the body of the translation. Leeser could have avoided getting the proof of the correct translation from the Greek version by referring to mishnaic Hebrew אֲשֵׁי עֵנָב, "anything made compact and substantial by pressing, cake" (Jastrow, s. v.).

for an emendation of a word in Psalm 54:5. The translation "strangers" renders the text זָרִים; a note says: "[Targum] Jonathan reads זָדִים, 'the presumptuous.'"

To the uncritical reader of the foregoing analysis, Leiser's translation may appear in quite an unfavorable light. The reader may get the impression that there is a man who plays fast and loose with a text, a man who — although expected to transmit the exact meaning of this text to a public which, for the most part, is not in a position to check the accuracy of the transmission — fails not infrequently to adhere to such standards of accuracy as today are synonymous with decency and truthfulness. This impression is strengthened when the analysis is read against the background of Leiser's own programmatic statements, quoted above from his prefaces, that he translated "as literal[ly] as possible," that he undertook this work "without regard to the result thence arising for his creed," and that he abhorred "perversion or forced rendering of any text" as neither admissible nor necessary. For the analysis has shown, among other things, that the meanings of common vocables which were accepted and made good sense hundreds of times, or simple grammatical rules which were constituent to tens of thousands of sentences, are dispensed with in precisely those cases where the translator's "creed" is at stake.

Now the objections of "the uncritical reader of the foregoing analysis," whom we have introduced in the preceding paragraph, can be disposed of quickly and easily. He is guilty of exactly that for which he blames Leiser: lack of historical understanding. The history of institutional religion and of the canons of religious literature is the history of attempted harmonizations. The beginning of periods of rationalism and enlightenment and times of religious reorganization often are not marked by any relaxation of these attempts, but, on the contrary, by invigorated harmonizing: man is endowed with reason and he is duty-bound

to use it for higher purposes. Leeser stood at such a point in the history of the Jews in America. His was a twofold credo: traditionalism and rationalism. His translation mirrors these principles in a peculiar mutual relation. They are not engaged in a dualistic conflict; they dwell together in monistic harmony. Leeser, lacking an understanding of their heterogeneous character and of the essential difference between the corresponding activities of the mind and lacking also a grasp of historic categories, truly believed in this harmony. This belief shaped his translation. It made his entire biblical work a clear case of *grammatica ancilla theologiae*, not in the Kantian sense<sup>41</sup> that linguistics is the handmaid bearing the torch before theology, but in the scholastic sense that it is the handmaid bearing the train behind the mistress.<sup>42</sup> But if traditionalism diminished Leeser's grasp of modern logical cognition, rationalism precluded his acceptance of the eminently historical insight of the second-century rabbi into the relationship of Jewish tradition to the Bible: יהודה אומר המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדאי (Tosefta Megillah at the end; Babylonian Kiddushin 49a). Rather than follow such a precept, Leeser would probably have preferred to abstain from translating. Nor did his confident rationalism agree with another talmudic approach: when several rabbis of the second and third centuries were confronted with contradictions between certain passages in Ezekiel 44 f. and related pentateuchal material, similar to that mentioned above,<sup>43</sup> they said of the Ezekiel passages: פירשה זו אליהו עתיד לדרשה<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Streit der Fakultäten*, I. Abschnitt, I, 2.

<sup>42</sup> The belief that religious consideration helps in selecting the best textual variant (see above, p. 298) may also be related to this principle.

<sup>43</sup> "Rabbi Jehuda says: He who translates a biblical verse literally is a liar."

<sup>44</sup> Pp. 306-7.

<sup>45</sup> "[The prophet] Elijah will explain this paragraph."

(Babylonian *Menahot* 45a). Leeson was not willing to wait for the prophet, although he might well have left those verses unexplained in an edition in which explanatory notes are sprinkled sparingly and almost at random.

These considerations will help us to gain a just appreciation of Leeson in his role as translator of the Bible. In the absence of criticism and of historical understanding, conceptions altogether alien to the original are bound to creep into translation and commentary. But lack of criticism and of historical understanding does not constitute dishonesty. Leeson's translation betrays his uprightness and sincerity throughout. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that his personal integrity is beyond doubt.

Leeson published all three editions of the Bible in less than nine years, between 1845 (his translation of the Pentateuch) and 1853-1854 (his translation of the entire Hebrew Bible). With the exception of the comparatively minor assistance of Joseph Jaquett,<sup>46</sup> he accomplished his task singlehandedly. Even the technical achievement was no mean feat. In the preparation of the manuscript, the supervision of the printing, and the process of proofreading Leeson employed no assistance, and "Jewish [which apparently means *adequate*] compositors" were not available.<sup>47</sup> Yet Leeson could use only a fraction of his time for translating, editing, and printing these works; his other literary, publishing, organizational, political, congregational, and educational activities claimed the best of him. His work on the Bible was only one aspect of his large scheme of strengthening and bettering Judaism and the Jews in America. Seen as a phase in his master plan, rather than as a work of philology, his biblical work cannot but elicit our greatest respect.

<sup>46</sup> See note 6, above.

<sup>47</sup> Pentateuch, Preface, p. vi.



Though, as a scientific work, Leeseer's translation is antiquated today, as it was even at the time of its publication, its significance as a historical and human document can be better appreciated now than it was a century ago. Time has not lessened that historical and human significance.



# David Einhorn:

## Some Aspects of His Thinking

BERNHARD N. COHN

MUCH has been said about David Einhorn. Not enough has been written, however, to appraise his genius or to study his influence on American Reform. This paper attempts to bring additional historical light to bear upon Einhorn's thinking through a closer analysis of one of his most important literary and intellectual legacies: his monthly German-language journal, *Sinai* — *A Voice for the Understanding and Refinement of Judaism*. Einhorn began publishing *Sinai* within a year after his arrival in Baltimore in 1855. He continued its publication until January, 1862, eight months after his hasty removal from Baltimore to Philadelphia. The introduction to the first volume states that the general purpose of his publication was "the preservation and glorification of Judaism through its living, God-Spirit reflecting institutions, as well as through the removal of everything that has become extinct in it."<sup>1</sup>

But Einhorn also had a personal purpose in publishing *Sinai*. Isaac Leeser's *Occident* and Isaac M. Wise's *Israelite* were already on the American Jewish scene. Both Leeser and Wise, however, represented interpretations of Judaism with which Einhorn saw himself in essential conflict. He felt that he, too, had to make

Rabbi Bernhard N. Cohn is the spiritual leader of The Suburban Temple in Wantagh, New York.

<sup>1</sup> David Einhorn, *Sinai* — *A Voice for the Understanding and Refinement of Judaism*, I, 1.

his views known in order to contribute to "the development of American congregational life."<sup>2</sup> He had left a controversial ministry in Germany and Hungary behind, and arrived in America as a mature individual with a profound knowledge of Judaism and general philosophy and with a set of ideas and attitudes that had already become an integral part of his personality. His ideas ran counter to certain current American Jewish congregational and rabbinic practices and attitudes. It was in these areas of disagreement that Einhorn hoped to influence Jewish life in this country.

### THE NATURE OF JUDAISM

Einhorn's Judaism is almost pure humanism. "Judaism is humanism."<sup>3</sup> "In its essence, Judaism is older than the Israelitish tribe. As pure humanity, as the emanation of the inborn divine spirit, it is as old as mankind."<sup>4</sup> As distinct from Orthodoxy, which traces the origins of Judaism back to Abraham and Moses, Einhorn dates the origin of divine instruction from Adam.<sup>5</sup> Adam is humanity personified. Abraham and Moses are the personifications of the Jewish people in the restricted, particularistic, nationalistic sense, which Einhorn ultimately rejects. Judaism "is rooted in Adam and reaches its apex in the Messianic and perfected humanity."<sup>6</sup> The beginning and end of Judaism is humanism.

The path that connects the Adam-ideal and the humanistic, messianic kingdom is one of man's growing awareness of the

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 319-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 293.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 539.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 320.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 539.

divine within him. This divine spark is reason, the breath of God in man.<sup>7</sup> The equation that *to reason* is to *exercise one's divinity* is the basic axiom underlying Einhorn's thinking. Reason is the sole organ of divine revelation<sup>8</sup> and the one essential attribute of the human spirit. "The human spirit is the son of God, and consequently the only mediator between God and man, the sole bearer of divine testimony. Christianity teaches: the word is become flesh. Judaism teaches: the word is become spirit." The revelation of this reasoning spirit is as divine and holy as the actual voice of God.<sup>9</sup>

Revelation through reason, however, does not impose itself from without. Man must constantly seek it. God is man's possession, unlike the unreasoning animal which belongs to God.<sup>10</sup> To seek God, then, is to deepen one's spiritual, rational powers and to apply them to life.

Under the impact of this thought, all belief in the immutability of external revelation must give way. Particularly the Ceremonial Law is subject to rational investigation. Einhorn finds a spiritual predecessor in Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, who taught that "one should investigate the foundation of the Divine Law" (Babylonian Talmud, *Kiddushin* 68b). In his opinion, this view "shook the very foundation of the Orthodox system. Once we give to reason the right to inquire after the foundation of the Divine Law we deny, from the outset, the basic principle that the Law, by virtue of its divine origin, possesses an absolute worth. Those divine ordinances which do not find their justification in themselves have, therefore, only a relative worth."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 401.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 401.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 410.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 510-11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 369; see also II, 474.

The Moral Law alone has absolute worth and is unchangeable. It has been constant since the beginning of time even though we find that the Bible seems to condone its transgression by men like Abraham and Jacob. The Bible's apparent moral permissiveness is, however, to be understood in its proper perspective. Taking the unethical practices of polygamy and slavery as examples, Einhorn explains that their ethical counterparts already existed in Abraham's time. If Abraham transgressed the Moral Law, it was not because he lacked character, but because he lacked sufficient insight into ethical reality. The point is that, while the Moral Law is eternal, man's awareness of it grows. Such awareness appears as change. The change, however, is not in the Moral Law, but in man.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE CEREMONIAL LAW

The same principle is made to apply to the Ceremonial Law as well. Einhorn points to biblical evidence for change in the Ceremonial Law. These changes, however, do not reflect a change in the Law itself, but a change in man's ceremonial needs.<sup>13</sup> Man's moral needs, on the other hand, remain unchanging in character.

It is this difference that gives rise to the distinction between the "essence" and the "form" of Judaism. Its essence consists of its eternal ethical truths and the Moral Law based upon them. The form of Judaism is its Ceremonial Law, the binding character of which Einhorn emphatically denies.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, however, Einhorn does not deny the possibility that the Ceremonial Law, too, is of divine origin. Differing with Isaac

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 575-76.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 575-76.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 320-21.

M. Wise, who held that all laws of the Bible, including the sacrificial laws, which are bound by historical time and need, are not the word of God, Einhorn holds that even the sacrificial cult "with its wealth of ideas" was carried by the divine spirit.<sup>15</sup> "It is quite possible to believe in the divine origin of the Ceremonial Law, and yet, at the same time, be convinced that as God had ordained this law for the education of a certain people, so he ordained it also for a certain time and locale."<sup>16</sup>

If one looks upon divine revelation as an external act, any breach of its law, Ceremonial or Moral, from the side of man, must be considered a sin. If, however, the rational human spirit is the sole agent of divine revelation, then that spirit is also in a position to justify by reason changes in the divinely revealed law. At the same time, the difference between the Ethical and the Ceremonial Law is to be found in the fact that "the Ethical Law contains its rational justification within itself; while in the case of the Ceremonial Law this justification is to be found entirely outside of the law itself."<sup>17</sup> Einhorn considers both the Ceremonial and the Moral Law of divine origin, but only the former as subject to change by reasoning man.

In the end, it is man's relative maturity which determines first, his awareness of the Moral Law, and second, his need for religious ceremony. As man's maturity — that is, his rational capacity — increases, one notes a growth in ethical insight and a corresponding decline in ceremonial need. Einhorn certainly was convinced that morality was on the march and that man's ethical conscience was nearing perfection. This perfection would then obviate all ceremonial needs and herald the arrival of messianic times, when Judaism, having fulfilled its ethical,

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 284-85, and note.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 796-97.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 474.

humanizing mission, would lose its historical character and become "the common possession of all peoples."<sup>18</sup>

### THE SABBATH

The significance that Einhorn attached to the Sabbath, the observance of which he strongly advocated,<sup>19</sup> is closely linked to the Moral Law and its superiority over the Ceremonial Law. Einhorn noted that while the Bible ordained the commemoration of the events leading up to the creation of the Priest-People at Passover, it failed to command the remembrance of the giving of the Law, although this event stands supreme among the experiences of Israel. The reason for this is that, unlike the exodus from Egypt, the origin of the Divine Law predates history and therefore cannot be commemorated as a historical event.<sup>20</sup> The giving of the Moral Law did not "happen"; it existed, in all its eternal and universally binding character, from creation. This would not have been so had God created the world in a state less than perfect. The meaning of the Sabbath, therefore, goes far beyond the fact that on that day God rested from His labors. It was not meant merely to prove God's creation of the world, but to attest to the "consummation and perfection of the divine handiwork." God ceased creating because He had finished His task to His own complete satisfaction, fulfilling all the needs of His Universal Kingdom.<sup>21</sup>

Since the Sabbath attests to the perfection of God's creative endeavors at the beginning of time, it must necessarily involve a denial of qualitative differences between man and nations. If all men are created in the image of God, they are created on the

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 137.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 289-91.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 542.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 540.



same moral plane. Thus, as far as Judaism is concerned, the Sabbath "does not only involve a testimony to man's dignity as the highest attainment of creation, but also a definite protest against the absolute (divine) preference for Israel over the other nations."<sup>22</sup> Israel never represented a higher type of human being than any other peoples.<sup>23</sup> True, Israel was the first to discover God's Law. However, anyone who claims that because of this discovery Israel has a monopoly on religious truth might as well insist that the brightness of the planet belongs exclusively to the astronomer who first saw it.<sup>24</sup> God's Law belongs to all men even though it was discovered by Israel.

From this Einhorn concludes that the importance of the Sabbath exceeds the specific limits of the Jewish people. In fact, by virtue of its universal implications the Sabbath was meant to be a guardian against the ossification of the particularistic elements in Judaism which find expression in the formal Ceremonial Law. Thus the observance of the Sabbath is designed to preserve the Moral Law of mankind against the corroding influences of Jewish particularism which only serves as a temporary vehicle by which God's original revelation to mankind will eventually be fulfilled.<sup>25</sup>

#### TALMUD AND PEOPLEHOOD

Israel is the Priest-People, whose mission in the world is to "lead all rational beings to the same level of holiness."<sup>26</sup> Its purpose is to re-create the condition of original perfection with

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 540-41.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 540-41.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 325.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 540-41.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 325.

which the universe and mankind were created. Israel's calling may require certain "exclusive religious signs, but its eternal truths and moral laws . . . shall and will become the common possession of all peoples."<sup>27</sup> Using a talmudic tradition as his inspiration, Einhorn instituted a thanksgiving celebration on the ninth day of the Jewish month of Ab (the traditional date of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, observed as a day of fasting by Orthodox Jewry) to commemorate the day on which Israel was sent among the nations as the bearer of God's word. The day marked for him the birthday of the Messiah, the beginning of Israel's mission to the peoples of the world.<sup>28</sup>

In order that Judaism might run its destined course to human perfection, nothing that stood in the way of this development could be tolerated. The moral ascendancy of man could not be hindered by a rigid and particularistic ceremonial drag which slowed down, and even prevented, ethical growth. As far as Einhorn was concerned, the greatest obstacle in the way of the moral progress of Judaism was the Talmud.

Not that the Talmud played a minor role in the historical development of Judaism. On the contrary, "no one will nor can deny that the Talmud forms one of the high points in the development of Judaism; that it led Judaism through the most fateful years of its history; and that in many respects it has enriched it. Indeed, one must ascribe to the Talmud this great merit: that it broke through the inflexibility of the biblical letter, and that unconsciously it reformed the Mosaic Law in accordance with the spiritual and practical needs of the times."<sup>29</sup> The objectionable character of the Talmud derives from its

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 325.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 240.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 1.

clear intent to tie Jewish religion to Jewish national life and peoplehood. Einhorn felt that any effort to invoke talmudic authority in Jewish life was clearly an attempt to impose upon Judaism a particularism which was foreign to its essential nature. In the Mosaic tradition the Jewish people was merely "an example of fulfilled and redeemed humanity." Jewish particularism was "no more than a lever of an unbounded universalism."<sup>30</sup> "Spiritually the Mosaic Law stands sublimely above all national limitations. But it was in need of Jewish nationhood as an educational device for its world-embracing ideas."<sup>31</sup> "Jewish religion was only temporarily dressed in Jewish nationality. In reality it was ordained to step from behind these restricting barriers so as gradually to become the world religion. Thus, if according to the talmudic viewpoint, it was a major concern to erect fences between Israel and the nations, then, according to Reform it is an essential life task — to tear these down."<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, to suggest that the Talmud should govern formal Jewish life was proof that the modern advocates of such a course of action misunderstood the nature of the Talmud itself. Einhorn saw in the Oral Law, as embodied in the Talmud, proof for his belief that Judaism had always made formal allowances for the diminishing ceremonial needs of man. "Side by side with the eternal and unchangeable Divine (Moral) Law, there exists a changeable and fluid element. This element is the naked religious form which is motivated by the eternal, living, driving force — the changeless spirit of the Law." This changeless, divine spirit has as its task "the freeing of the religious form from the chains of immutability." Thus, the eternal Divine Law

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 293.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 411.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 166.

is in reality the inspiration behind formal religious change.<sup>33</sup> To assign to the Oral Law, and with it to the Talmud, the element of immutability is, therefore, to interfere with the essential departicularizing and humanizing tendency in Judaism. Only through the eventual elimination of all particularistic attributes can Israel's divine mission to the world be accomplished, so that, in the end, the Priest-People, having fulfilled its task, can retire from the scene and "blend with the nations among whom it lived in dispersion."<sup>34</sup>

Einhorn's view of Judaism may be described as a social gospel, the main feature of which is an unqualified attempt to equate the progress of Judaism with the progress of humanity towards its universalistic, humanistic goal. Once this goal is achieved, Judaism as a particular faith will disappear, and so, presumably, will all other group identities. Judaism, however, can hasten this end by living the essentially Jewish life, that is, the life of the eternal Moral Law which is its heart and soul. All rituals, ceremonies, and nationalistic accouterments of Judaism are merely educational devices designed at various moments in history as means of conveying the essence of the eternal and perfect Moral Law to a maturing but as yet spiritually imperfect Jewish people. These educational devices, having been handed down from ancient times, must be eliminated as they come to be of increasing spiritual uselessness to a developing Jewish religion. In that way, Judaism becomes an ever-present example of a morally self-perfecting humanity. Consequently, any attempt to perpetuate the old expressions of Jewish particularism in a modern world striving toward an all-embracing humanism runs counter to the essential meaning and *raison d'être* of Judaism.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 137.

# Isaac Mayer Wise's "Jesus Himself"

SAMUEL SANDMEL

ISAAC MAYER WISE, the founder of the Hebrew Union College, is quoted only rarely in the scholarly books which deal with the question of Christian origins. The occasional quotations are almost exclusively from a rather long book, published by Wise in 1868 and called *The Origins of Christianity and a Commentary to the Acts of the Apostles*. In Gösta Lindeskog's *Die Jesusfrage im neuzeitlichen Judentum* (Uppsala, 1938), this largest of Wise's writings passes unlisted, although three minor items of Wise are mentioned. While Lindeskog paraphrases many of the Jewish writers on Jesus, he limits his treatment of Wise to the mere listing of the titles.

In addition to *The Origins*, Isaac Mayer Wise penned other works relating to Christianity. *The Martyrdom of Jesus of Nazareth: a Historic-Critical Treatise on the Last Chapters of the Gospel* appeared in 1874. Two works appeared in 1883 — *Three Lectures on the Origin of Christianity* and *Judaism and Christianity, Their Agreements and Disagreements*. A fourth appeared in 1889 — *A Defense of Judaism versus Proselytizing Christianity*. To my mind, however, the most interesting and noteworthy of his writings relating to Christianity never appeared in book form. It is a series of chapters entitled "Jesus Himself." The first of these chapters appeared in Wise's weekly newspaper, *The Israelite*, on July 9,

Dr. Samuel Sandmel, Provost of the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion, is also Professor of Bible and Hellenistic Literature at the Cincinnati School.

1869. The tenth chapter, which appeared on April 1, 1870, carries at its end the legend: "To be continued."

It was never continued. That the work was never finished is likely the reason why "Jesus Himself" never appeared in book form.

Equally as interesting as "Jesus Himself" is a series of chapters, translated from the German by Wise and published in *The Israelite*. Written by Gustav Adolf Wislicenus, this work has a title which in English would be *The Bible Considered for Thinking Readers*. The Old Testament part appeared in 1863; the New Testament section, in the following year. There seems to be a dearth of information on Wislicenus, for he was a man of no great importance. We know, however, that he was born in Germany in 1805 and that he studied for the ministry. He participated in some revolutionary movements, for which he was jailed (possibly around 1848). Thereafter, he fled to America, but later returned to Europe and settled in Switzerland.

Wislicenus was a popularizer of the scholarship of his time, especially of the iconoclastic and shocking variety. His preface tells us:

Though earlier the Bible was considered exceptional compared with other books, it is now aligned with others as something which appeared in history, as an attestation of the human spirit, and as an organ in the development of the species. Great and wondrous toil has been brought to bear in the field of Bible study, so that now a clear light has been shed over it, despite efforts to becloud clear sight and to revert to earlier presentations.

The portion of Wislicenus which Wise translated and published in his newspaper was only a segment of the New Testament section, that dealing with the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul. Wise did not translate, or at least did not publish, the Old Testament portion. I doubt that this was an accident, for although Wislicenus was quite as radical in his approach to the Old as to the New, Wise was not similarly inclined.

In his survey of the life and teachings of Jesus, Wislicenus expresses doubts about the reliability of the supposition that everything which the Gospels attribute to Jesus is really from him or about him. Indeed, Wislicenus is a fairly good reflection of the skepticism which in radical form was expressed by David Friedrich Strauss and in a more moderate — I cannot withhold the modern word: *schmaltzy* — way by Ernest Renan.

Wise not only translates Wislicenus, but also annotates him. The author and his annotator, however, are separated by a notable gap: while in a good many places Wislicenus doubts that such and such a statement was really made by Jesus, Wise goes beyond him to doubt that Jesus ever lived. (See *The Israelite*, July 7, 1865, p. 428.) Again, for example, Wislicenus makes the statement that the four Gospels were "written in Greek, because Christianity, although originating among the Hebrews, soon stepped beyond those limits, and Greek was then the universal language of the East." To this Wise comments in a footnote: "It is by no means certain that Christianity originated among the Hebrews. Its Alexandrian origin has been maintained by many. See *Diegeses* [sic] by R. Taylor, p. 136."

Who was Taylor, and what was this business of Alexandrian origin? Robert Taylor (1784-1844) was a former Anglican priest who, after a checkered career, embraced Deism and wrote a number of books attacking Christianity from the Deist point of view. *Diegesis, A Discovery of the Origin of Christianity*, was published in Boston in 1832. Since I have not been able to procure a copy of the book, I can judge its tone only on the basis of the illuminating chapter on the Deists' attitude to problems of the New Testament which F. C. Conybeare summarizes in Chapter Three of his *History of New Testament Criticism* (1910).<sup>1</sup> On the

<sup>1</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, ignores the Deists in general, and the British Deists in particular. See Maurice Goguel, *Jesus the Nazarene, Myth or History*, English translation (1926), p. 2, note 4.

negative side, the Deists either emphasized the discrepancies or what seemed to them incredibilities in the text; on the other hand, they offered explanations supposedly more reasonable and cogent. It is to be presumed — for the matter is scarcely important enough to justify research — that among the explanations offered about the “real” origins was the theory that Christianity really emerged somewhere in the Greek world. What place was better for this suppositious origin than Alexandria? In a Deistic-like book, *Christian Theology and Modern Skepticism* (1872), the Duke of Somerset writes (p. 70):

Some ingenious writers have endeavored to trace the source of Christianity to the schools and synagogues of Alexandria. They would even interpret the prophecy, “Out of Egypt have I called my son (Mt. 2.15),” in a mystic sense.

The Deistic explanations of various and sundry items in the New Testament exhibit what I would call a notable lack of self-criticism and restraint. Indeed, just as the pious imagination of the faithful managed to expand the sense of the passage in Matthew into a stipulation of how long Jesus sojourned in Egypt, and exactly where, so the imagination of the skeptical opponents soared far above texts and above sobriety. We shall come to see, I believe, that Wise himself absorbed from the Deists both their attitude and their manner.

We must conclude, therefore, that the Deists did not offer their theories in any direct and vivid relationship to the text or its meaning. Or, to put the matter in a way which risks the charge of condescension, the Deists were dabblers. The source of the Alexandrian emphasis is probably August Friedrich Gfroerer (1803–1861), a responsible scholar who could scarcely foresee how the irresponsible would abuse his erudition. A long series of books under the general title *Geschichte des Urchristentums* appeared from 1831 to 1838. The first part, in two volumes,



was on Philo (20 B. C.-40 A. D.) and Alexandrian theosophy. Gfroerer believed that Alexandrian theosophy was very old and that it came to be transplanted in Palestine. That Gfroerer was not on solid ground is not to be taken as indicative of limited or poor scholarship, but rather as the consequence of his having created and defended an idiosyncratic theory.

It chanced that another German, Bruno Bauer, a vicious anti-Semite, also came to a judgment about Alexandria and its significance in Christian origins. To Bauer, a thoroughly trained and competent scholar, Schweitzer devotes chapter XI of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Bauer began as a skeptical critic, but he had no great doubts initially as to the historicity of Jesus; later, in a two-volume work published in 1850-1851, he arrived at the conclusion that Jesus had never lived. Not until 1874 did Bauer publish a succinct account of his view. This he set forth in a little book — I found it caustic and entertaining — which he called *Philo, Strauss, Renan und das Urchristentum*. Bauer contended that the efforts of Jesus' two "biographers" to separate the legendary and mythical from actual history were misguided. They had supposed that the Gospels exhibited the growth of a man through legend into divinity. To the contrary, Bauer held that Jesus was the result of making into a human being certain metaphysical concepts which are found in the writings of Philo.

As noted above, Bauer and Gfroerer were, in every technical sense of the word, thoroughgoing scholars. The Deists were rather dilettantes. I have found in Wise no indication of his having read Bauer. I rather imagine that he obtained his material from such people as Robert Taylor.

One observes that, in summoning the support of Taylor to refute Wislicenus, Wise was smiting a broken reed with an equally broken reed. One wonders if he was as critical in his reading of Taylor as he was in his examination of Wislicenus.

We do not know. What we can be sure about is that in 1865 Wise was confident that there had never been a Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

Four years later Wise began the task of writing a biography of Jesus. I do not know what brought about the change of heart. Perhaps it was due to his reading Abraham Geiger. This great German Jewish scholar had published a book of lectures in 1864; the book was translated into English as *Judaism and its History* (New York, 1866). Three of the lectures (IX–XI) were on Christianity. Geiger contended that Jesus “was a Jew, a Pharisean Jew with Galilean coloring.” Perhaps this affirmation

<sup>2</sup> Wise’s skepticism at that time (1865) extended to the question of “Jewish-Christianity”: “If the cradle of Christianity was in Alexandria, the Jewish-Christians were proselytes of a later date” (*The Israelite*, XII [July 7, 1865], p. 12). Commenting in the same issue on Wislicenus’ discussion of the genealogy of Jesus, Wise says:

It is strange that after the admission that we know of Jesus only what we learn from the Gospels, which are as good as no source, the author should maintain to know anything sure regarding Jesus. Nothing is sure, not even that he existed. Jesus might have been a dramatical fiction, invented for religious mysteries.

Where Wislicenus denies that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, declaring that “it was historically known and could not be denied that Jesus was from Nazareth,” Wise comments: “Nothing could be *historically known* concerning Jesus, as nothing is *historically known* about him today” (*ibid.*, August 4, 1865, p. 36).

Wise was prepared at that time to extend his skepticism to the point of denying that John the Baptist had ever lived. Wise, discussing the baptism of Jesus, comments on the mention of John in Josephus:

It (the baptism) might be a historical fact, if the following doubts did not exist. 1st. Did Jesus exist, or is he a dramatical fiction, invented for religious mysteries of days long before Paul? 2nd. Did John exist? The passages regarding him in Josephus are spurious. If John and Jesus were real personages . . . then there is no evidence of their having had any acquaintance with each other, outside of the New Testament, and this can not be used as a historical source at all (*ibid.*, August 11, 1865, p. 45).

As to the words which the Gospels attribute to Jesus, Wise says:

There is not the slightest evidence in record that he existed, much less that he made a speech. Nothing is more common to ancient chronographers than to invent speeches for their favorite heroes and put them conveniently in their mouths (*ibid.*, October 27, 1865. See items in a similar vein in the issues of November 3rd, 17th, and 24th of the same year).

by a great Jewish scholar, following as it did the affirmation (1856) by Heinrich Graetz, exercised some influence on Wise. Yet my reading of Wise keeps persuading me of the relative independence of his mind, both where independence was a virtue and where it was not necessarily so.

If it was not the reading of Geiger which changed Wise's mind, then I confess to not knowing what it was.

It is reckless to make too great an inference from a small matter. In 1866, Wise commented on Wislicenus' account of Jesus' activities in Jerusalem. Wislicenus had remarked that the "cursing of the fig-tree" (Mark 11:12-14) is the sole miracle attributed to the Jerusalem period. Concerning this Wise comments: "It is not at all wonderful that Jesus wrought no miracles in Jerusalem . . . it is only remarkable that the evangelists invented none for him" (*The Israelite*, March 12, 1866, p. 293). It is to be noted that here we no longer deal with an outright denial of the existence of Jesus, but with the beginning of the separation in Wise's mind of Jesus from those who wrote about him. Here the dichotomy is only hinted at; three years later the distinction blossomed. We move from denial in 1865, to a grudging and vague acceptance of historicity in 1866, to an effort at biography in 1869.

Though I cannot explain what made Wise change his mind, to speculate about it is harmless. Indeed, from something which Wise says in his very first chapter, I suspect that Wise, on mulling over Wislicenus and others, noted what so many modern Jews have been quick to see: that items in the Gospels impinge on materials found in the rabbis, and what is rare, or rather, was rare, is that this impingement was either not noticed or else not handled with accuracy and authority. Wise wrote:

Besides Lightfoot's and Isidor Kalisch's fragmentary essays, no book or essay in the English language has become known to us, which treats on the Ancient Rabbinical Literature in connection with, and

in comparison to, the New Testament, to illustrate the circumstances which must be fully understood, in order to form a correct conception of the person, events, and lessons described by the authors of that collection.

Wise undoubtedly thought that through the use of rabbinic literature he could do a much better job than his predecessors had done. It is my conjecture that through his sense of competency in rabbinics he became confident of his ability to surpass these others. This newly found understanding, I believe, led him out of his skepticism about Jesus and into an avowal that Jesus had really lived.

Isidor Kalisch, referred to above, was born in Krotoschin in 1816; he came to the United States in 1849, and died in Newark in 1886. So numerous are his essays — unhappily, never gathered into a book, but scattered throughout *The Israelite*, *The Occident*, and the *London Jewish Chronicle* — that I have not been able to determine exactly which essay Wise had in mind. As to Lightfoot, there is this quandary. There was a British bishop, Joseph Barber Lightfoot, who was born in 1828 and who was a great New Testament scholar. Wise might possibly be referring to him, but I think that this is unlikely, for his literary activity seems to have begun just about the time that Wise himself was writing.

What is more reasonable is to understand the reference as being to John Lightfoot (1602–1675), who became quite a notable Talmudist. His *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, composed in Latin between 1658 and 1674, gave Talmudic parallels to much (though not all) of the New Testament. The *Horae* was published in an English translation in 1859. Lightfoot wrote a good many essays, one edition of which was published in 1822–1825. It is likely, then, that it is John Lightfoot whom Wise means; but I am unable to say which is the particular essay to which he refers.

In his first chapter, Wise outlines for his readers what his procedure will be:

The authors of the New Testament maintain that they have described the words and actions of Jesus. Their books must be considered the primary source to this work. This standpoint suggests a number of inquiries. By what means did those authors obtain possession of the matter they communicate? Were they eye-witnesses of the events which they describe; did they borrow them from written records, or from traditions; or, did they invent them? Were they able to write the full truth, and was it their intention to do so, or merely to write in defense of preconceived doctrines? Which is fact and which embellishment? Have we the means of distinguishing the fact from the embellishment? Are we, at this distance of time, able to understand those authors correctly? Can we tell with certainty when, where, by whom, and in what language those books were written?

Wise proceeds to discuss the Jewish backgrounds, making the usual mention of the Essenes (Wise takes his stand with others who believe that the word is corrupted from the word *Hasidim*), the Sadducees (the aristocrats), and the Pharisees (the democrats).

As to the Gospels themselves (which Wise discusses in *The Israelite* of July 23, 1869), Wise makes a number of statements which are both interesting and also regrettably less than completely clear. One of his first is a tiny misstatement of no great significance, except possibly to alert us to the frequency with which unimportant misstatements appear in these chapters. The four Gospels, he says, are called canonical, "in contradistinction of the Apocryphal Gospels which were rejected by the Council of Nice<sup>3</sup> (325 A. C.) as fraudulent productions." He goes on to explain what is meant by the italicized words "according to" in such titles as the Gospel *according to* Mark or *according to* Luke: the names are not the names of the authors of the Gospels, but these men "taught Christianity to these respective congregations

<sup>3</sup> See Caspar René Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 262: "The Council of Nice in 325 does not appear to have determined anything about Scripture."

out of which the ultimate authors of the written Gospels arose." This explanation is quite ingenious; thus far I have not met it anywhere else. It is the reverse of a frequent and familiar explanation of the phenomenon. Most scholars who see growth in the process of Gospel formation would regard "Matthew" or "Luke" as the final step in the procedure by which oral materials or rudimentary written sources become transmuted into Gospels; with Wise, however, "Matthew" and "Luke" supply the original impetus, and only thereafter does a Gospel ultimately achieve its present form.

Wise was certain that none of the Gospels in existence today "existed in the first century" (*The Israelite*, XVI, July 23, 1869, p. 9). While most scholars of today would undoubtedly differ with Wise, he was in his own time not too far removed from the dates which some Protestant scholars were assigning to the Gospels.<sup>4</sup>

That the Gospels were relatively late literary products meant to him that their reliability was thereby impugned; "Their statements rest upon no known authority. Nobody can tell who made those statements, when or where they were made. Therefore nobody can reasonably vouch for the veracity of those authors . . ." (*ibid.*).

Yet the nature of the content of the Gospels prompts Wise to make a distinction which for him (and for our understanding of him) is of great significance.

The pages . . . are adorned with accounts of miracles, exorcism, thaumaturgy, the words and deeds of angels, demons and Satan himself. . . . In vain are all the attempts of rationalistic expounders to allegorize, or explain away otherwise, the extraordinary performances and preternatural phenomena. . . . Those superstitions weaken the authority of the Gospels. . . . There is no connection between the doctrine or fact and the miracle wrought to prove the former. The

<sup>4</sup> See the convenient table in James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, p. 213.

written miracle is perfectly useless. We have before us a doctrine and a miracle. If the understanding declared the doctrine true, the miracle is superfluous, as the doctrine can be no better or more true. If the understanding doubts, the miracle can not improve the case. For we must first believe the miracle on the authority of the witness or of the writer, which has no affinity with the understanding, in order to believe also the doctrine which anyhow must offer some affinity with the understanding. . . . Doctrines surpassing the universal understanding of man are absurdities which no miracle can change into legitimate propositions. . . . All the miracles can not improve a fact, or make it one, if it is not . . . (*ibid.*, July 23, 1869).

The distinction which Wise draws is that only that material in the Gospels which is totally devoid of the miraculous is worthy of being regarded as historically reliable. The initial test for historical reliability, then, will be the "naturalistic" content of the Gospels. One by-product was Wise's ability, after this decision, to bypass almost all the chapters in the Gospels which deal with the career of Jesus prior to his entry into Jerusalem.

But even before he can proceed to matters of substance, Wise has more words of introduction. Not only do the Gospels contain the "preternatural," but as literary documents their relationships with each other need to be defined, for they cover the same material about Jesus, often with divergencies, but often, too, with similarities and near-identities. While by Wise's time the so-called "two-source theory" (that Luke and Matthew independently used as sources Mark and a body of "teachings" known as Q, *Quelle*, "source") had been articulated and was on the way to becoming a cornerstone of Gospel study, Wise cites no scholars as authority, but instead offers his own judgment:

Mark may have seen Matthew's book, or vice versa. Luke must have seen Matthew's and Mark's Gospels, and John knew the three Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Nevertheless they disregarded and contradicted one another, not only in the particulars of the story,

but also in the speeches and the parables ascribed to Jesus. . . . The evangelists did not consider one another reliable authorities, and each of them took the liberty to change, amend, omit, and add. . . (*ibid.*, July 30, 1869).

This statement addresses itself, of course, to the divergencies in the Gospels. But Wise was equally under obligation to account for the similarities:

They could not have copied from one another the passages which they have, literally alike, unless they were in possession of a fixed standard, by which they judged that certain passages were genuine, and others were not. This consideration naturally leads to the hypothesis, the passages, literally alike in the Gospels, must have been copies from an old work of this kind.

Wise was neither the first nor the last to suppose that some primitive Gospel underlay the four which came to be canonical; scholarship today still deals, though passingly, with a by now old theory concerning an "*Ur-Markus*," a primitive version of Mark out of which the present Mark was composed. For my own understanding, I find the theory of an *Ur-Markus* an inescapable necessity; but I should not dream of supposing that this *Ur-Markus* was a standard to which all the evangelists adhered. Yet this is Wise's supposition, at least at this point in his writings; elsewhere he seems to me at times to hold related but slightly different views.

Having supposed that there was at one time a primitive Gospel, Wise goes on to identify it for us. He finds it in a Gospel known in quotation from the Church Fathers as the Gospel of the Hebrews. Wise is aware, of course, that modern scholars<sup>5</sup> consider the fragmentary Gospel of the Hebrews to have been derived from the canonical Gospels, especially from Matthew; yet Wise believes, to the contrary, that the true source of the

<sup>5</sup> See Adam Fyfe Findlay, "Jewish Christian Gospels," in his *Byways in Early Christian Literature*, pp. 33-78.



acknowledgedly spurious Gospel of the Hebrews was an earlier Gospel. Wise implies that others have considered a primitive Gospel in Hebrew or in Aramaic to be merely a hypothesis. "With us, this is no hypothesis. We can produce positive evidence that a Gospel existed in the apostolic age, and that Gospel was either in Hebrew or in Aramaic."

Wise's proof leads him through what he himself calls a "chain of rabbinic reasoning." He uses oft-cited passages in Tosefta Yadaim II, 5 (and in Shabbat 116a, restored from the excisions by medieval Christian censors) which state that certain "scrolls" (*gilyonim*) were not worthy of being rescued from a conflagration on the Sabbath. Two rabbis, Meir and Johanan, punned on the word *gilyonim*, yielding the equivalent of *evangelionim*, that is, Gospels. A huge literature exists on these passages.

Wise has an ingenious, although improbable, interpretation of his own to add to the rabbinic passages. He is not content for them to be second-century statements alluding to a Hebrew or Aramaic Gospel, but he finds some need (which eludes me) to derive the word *evangelion* from the Hebrew root *GLH*, "to reveal," rather than, as *gilyon* would be derived, from the root meaning "to roll" (as in a scroll). The Greek, of course, is a compound of *eu* and *angelion*, "good" and "tiding." But were Wise to have conceded that the rabbinic pun rested on a Greek word, his case for a primitive Gospel in Hebrew or Aramaic would have been weakened, or even shattered. By means of the Hebraic etymology, Wise was able to persuade himself that Jewish Christians had a Hebrew or Aramaic sacred book, for "the primitive Christians . . . when still included in the community of Israel, had sacred books which they considered equally holy with the Bible. Those books must have been Hebrew or Aramaic, as translations of the Bible itself were not included in the Sabbath statute."

But Wise has not yet finished his proof. In this additional

item, he goes lamentably astray. The Palestinian Talmud records that one Ben Stada brought necromancy from Egypt (and now note the key words) "in this same kind of writing." The context of this passage in the Talmud did not excite Wise's attention; it is likely that he knew it from memory and desisted from checking on it. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the Talmud does relate that one Ben Stada brought some kind of writing from Egypt. It is a hoary matter that Ben Stada and Jesus were identified with each other in Jewish tradition.<sup>6</sup> At first glance, following Wise, it would appear that Ben-Stada-Jesus brought some kind of writing from Egypt, and this would give us an Alexandrian origin. The fact is, however, that in its own context in the Talmud the kind of writing under discussion does not refer to the scroll form, or the papyrus form, but to writing on one's own skin! The correct rendering of the passage would omit the words "in this same kind of writing," and read instead: "Did not Ben Stada bring necromancy out of Egypt in the same kind of way [on his own skin]?"

As noted above, Wise went astray as an autodidact often goes astray, through lack of some measure of self-restraint. I have reproduced this item, not out of the wish to disparage a man whom I truly admire and whose memory I truly reverence, but only out of honesty and out of the conviction that the minor error is too petty to require forgiveness. Men, trained more rigorously than Wise ever had the opportunity to be, have in the last decade written things about the Dead Sea Scrolls infinitely more startling than this divagation of Wise's.

Let us now return to Wise's main line of argument. One may cast aside the miraculous in the Gospels. But the Gospels, especially the Synoptics (Mark, Matthew, and Luke), do have a large measure of agreement with each other, and this agreement.

<sup>6</sup> See Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Rabbinic Essays*, pp. 514-30.

Wise states, results from the common use of the original Aramaic or Hebrew Gospel. In such agreement in the Synoptic Gospels, Wise says, there are historically reliable elements.<sup>7</sup>

This preface over, Wise is now ready for the substance of his study. His first problem is the date of the birth of Jesus. Wise, like Protestant scholars, tries his hand at reconciling the material in Matthew, Luke, and Josephus. Stated briefly, Matthew 2:1 offers the datum that Jesus was born in the time of Herod, who died in 4 B. C. Luke identifies the time of the birth with a census which is either now totally unknown, or is possibly to be identified with a census, not the world-wide one of Luke, but one known to us from Josephus as a strictly local one which took place in 6 C. E.<sup>8</sup> Luke 3:23 relates that Jesus, at the height of his career, was thirty years old; John 8:57 seems to suggest that Jesus was then "nearly" fifty. According to Wise, one needs then to determine Jesus' age as between John and Luke, and the year of his birth as between Matthew (4 B. C.) and Luke (6 C. E.). Wise notes that some manuscripts of John read "nearly forty" and he adopts the latter reading as correct. (Modern scholars consider it a deliberate change so as to avoid the sharp conflict between Luke and John, for thirty and "nearly forty" are not quite so far apart as thirty and nearly fifty.) As to choosing between Matthew and Luke, for Wise this is easy. The infant stories of Matthew are manifest inventions. No critic will attempt to save them. The massacre of the babes at Bethlehem is an

<sup>7</sup> "John's Gospel can hardly be counted in this direction. He is a dogmatic writer and no biographer. He shaped the biography of Jesus, and wrote speeches for him, to express John's dogma of Alexandrian Christianity, as it originated [*note here the change in Wise's viewpoint*] in the second century. . . . We know of those corresponding passages, that they were copied and translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic work, which existed in the second half of the first century" (*The Israelite*, July 30, 1869).

<sup>8</sup> On this hoary problem, see Charles A. H. Guignebert, *Jesus* (English translation by S. H. Hooke), pp. 96-104.

imitation of the passage in Exodus narrating the birth of Moses and the babes drowned in the Nile by command of Pharaoh. Also the astrologers and the star are taken from rabbinical legends on the birth of Moses.<sup>9</sup> Like Luke, so nobody now, outside of the church, believes Matthew's infant stories. . . . In the following book we treat of the year 36, A. C., which is the year of the national career and death of Jesus of Nazareth (*ibid.*, August 6, 1869).

Wise moves promptly, as I have intimated above, from the establishment of this chronology of the birth of Jesus to the end of his career in Jerusalem. The Galilean period, the journey to Jerusalem, with all the various and sundry details, seem brushed aside, for they contain miracles, but the period in Jerusalem does not, and Wise without delay brings Jesus to the Holy City.

Prior to recounting the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, Wise presents a character analysis. The Herodians were wicked persecutors.

Persecution invariably contributes to the elevation of the victim. . . . The persecution of Herod attracted the masses to Jesus of Nazareth, the meek and unpretending teacher of a small circle of disciples from the humble and neglected class of society. The keen eye of public inquisitiveness discovered the hiding places of Jesus upon the shores of the Sea of Galilee. . . . Friends and opponents congregated around him, to listen to his lessons, or to oppose his doctrines. . . .

Resistance and success . . . developed in Jesus the desire to become the savior of his people, whose misery then must have touched the heart of every patriot. His name, Jesus, which signifies savior, undoubtedly contributed to the birth of this idea in him, which the combination of circumstances ripened to solid resolution.

A great design, once conceived and embraced, changes the entire character of the man. . . . The same was the case with Jesus. Having resolved upon becoming the savior of his people, the simple enthusiast under the very eye of his disciples, as it were, was transformed into a being of higher powers. This is the sense of the transfiguration legend which is copied almost literally from Plato's *Phaedon*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Wise here has a footnote: "See Rashi to Exodus 1:16."

<sup>10</sup> One needs to say that Wise's interpretation of the transfiguration, Mark 9:2-13, is as extreme an example of "rationalistic" interpretation as that which he himself

In the account, as Wise rewrites it, there is a culprit — but it is not Jesus. True, Jesus had the intention of becoming the savior of his people. But

Peter suggested the idea, how to rouse and captivate popular enthusiasm in favor of the master and his designs. The messianic mania had taken hold of the Hebrews, in a most deplorable manner. . . . Peter suggested the idea — "Thou art Christ," the Messiah. Jesus, fully aware of the dangers connected with that position, was startled by the novel idea, and prohibited his disciples to publish it. But the word was spoken, the spark had fallen on combustibles. The mission of the master had assumed shape and form in that popular word. . . .

Jesus expostulated with Peter, pointing out clearly the perilous condition in which the Son of Man was placed. Peter attempted to overcome the master's apprehensions, and succeeded in obtaining the tacit consent of Jesus to this hazardous enterprise. Jesus never claimed the messianic dignity. His disciples, on the suggestion of Peter, claimed it for him (*ibid.*, August 13, 1869, p. 9).

It is worthwhile here to interrupt Wise's account in order to notice how close he came, in different though overlapping terms, to a somewhat related theory in *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901), by William Wrede. Both Wise and Wrede notice the phenomenon in Mark that Jesus never makes a clear claim to Messiahship; for both, some secrecy seems to shroud it. Wrede explains the motif by asserting that the affirmation of Jesus' Messiahship arose only after the belief in the resurrection from death had gripped his followers, and that Jesus in his lifetime never claimed to be the Messiah. The German title of the book by Albert Schweitzer known as *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* is *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* — the same Wrede. Since the turn of the century there has been under Wrede's influence a host of writings which echo the assertion that Jesus did not claim the Messiahship; many writers seem bent on protecting Jesus from

had scorned. The dependency of the passage in Mark on the *Phaedon* is new to me; David Friedrich Strauss, *Life of Jesus* (English translation), pp. 545-46, note 19, finds a similarity in Plato's *Symposium*, 523 B ff., suggestive.

the supposed arrogance implicit in such a Messianic claim. I might add that neither Wrede, with all his subsequent influence, nor Wise, with all his obscurity in this area, appears to me to have recognized what the Gospel of Mark is really saying, namely, that despite all the miracles which Jesus accomplished, his foes, the Pharisees and the Sadducees, did not believe him, and his own followers did not understand him.<sup>12</sup> Mark, in short, is not stressing Jesus' silence, but rather the opaqueness of the disciples who see but do not understand Jesus' miracles.

To move on, Wise notices that for the journey to Jerusalem from Galilee Mark and Matthew set a route that leads eastward across the Jordan, southward to Jericho, and then a recrossing of the Jordan and a westward trip to Jerusalem, while Luke has Jesus remain always west of the Jordan, thereby obligating Jesus, in his account, to pass through Samaria. The difference, Wise suggests, "is somewhat obscure."

As to the entry into Jerusalem, Wise notices that Mark and Luke suggest that Jesus entered on one ass, while Matthew suggests two animals (for Matthew misunderstood the proof-text from Zechariah 9:9 which he quoted). Wise, however, gives his attention primarily to explaining why an ass was needed: without it

the Messiah could not possibly have come to the satisfaction of the masses. . . . Popular superstition would have the Messiah to come riding on an ass, and Jesus had to submit to it. . . . Although the story of the ass, as before us in the Synoptics, bears the stamp of fiction, nevertheless, from the concurrence of the Evangelists, it appears certain that Jesus was persuaded to enter Jerusalem riding on an ass, in order to comply with a popular superstition (*ibid.*, August 13, 1869).

As to the journey, the entry, and the reception of Jesus, it is irrelevant here to reproduce Wise's struggle with the Gospel accounts. We can turn directly to his summary:

<sup>12</sup> I discuss this in my *The Genius of Paul*, published by Farrar, Straus & Cudahy (New York, 1958).

The facts in the case appear to have been these: Jesus at Caesarea Philippi having consented to play the messianic role, he went with his disciples on by-ways, always evading the authority of Herod, down to the line [Wise means the boundary] of Judea, crossing and re-crossing the Jordan until he reached Jericho, from whence they traveled fast to reach Jerusalem unmolested. Here the brilliant feat was to be rapidly carried out, Jesus proclaimed the Messiah, to rouse the popular enthusiasm, the people thus won and amazed, to be relied upon in case of an interference by the government, and the whole affair to be accomplished by one brilliant and rapid movement . . . .

That Jesus found many and ardent friends and admirers among the multitudes in Jerusalem, can hardly be doubted. But they were not as numerous nor as enthusiastic as the disciples expected from the messianic appeal to the masses. Little regard was paid to the Messiah, although considerable attention was bestowed on the words and lessons of Jesus, who had laid aside altogether the messianic character, and appeared as the young sage of Nazareth, expounding his scheme of salvation. This gained him friends and admirers, while the messianic pretensions of his disciples made him ridiculous with the learned, obnoxious to the Roman authorities, and drove thousands of peaceable citizens from him; because they knew from sad experience that almost any pretext sufficed Pilate for massacre and pillage. So Jesus, who had been a persecuted fugitive in Galilee, entered now upon his national career under the worst auspices. He stood upon a threatening volcano, and he knew it well (*ibid.*, August 20, 1869).

The incident of the "cleansing of the Temple" provides Wise with an opportunity to distinguish between a historical item and a legend. The texts of the Synoptics (Mark 11:17; Matthew 21:13; and Luke 19:46) accompany the cleansing with a quotation by Jesus from Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people but you have made it a den of robbers." The "turning over the tables of the money changers," Wise asserts, is not historical, but rather the application to Jesus of a biblical passage, such application of Scripture being frequent in the Gospels. The verse in question is the very last verse in Zechariah which, translated variously (for one word in it means both Canaanite and also trader), runs as follows: "There will be no trader [Canaanite] in the

house of the Lord of Hosts on that day." The cleansing, derived as it is from a biblical passage, is pure legend in Wise's eyes.

But the citation from Isaiah is, according to Wise, "a memorandum of the first part of the speech which Jesus made in Jerusalem, a memorandum written exactly in the style of that age — ראשי פרקים."<sup>12</sup>

Wise believes that this speech of Jesus was a full and unrelenting attack on the system of priests with their sacrifices. He would have Jesus emphasize that it is prayer which the Temple should foster, not sacrifice.

With Jesus striking at the very root of their existence, the chief priests must naturally have felt alarmed. The larger the number of his admirers was, the more cause of apprehension existed. The brief memorandum of that speech gave rise to the unskillful expulsion story which is incompatible to the general character and behavior of Jesus, and bears in itself characteristics of improbability (*ibid.*, August 27, 1869, p. 9).

Wise then proceeds to give a full account of the priestly system, both in extent and in history. A part of this is truly amazing.

In the first place, Wise asserts, the laws relating to sacrifices in the Pentateuch are inconsistent and replete with conflict. How to account for this? Wise finds the answer in Exodus 20:24, which prescribes an altar of stone where one, to paraphrase Wise with my italics, "*might, if he wanted to,*" offer sacrifices. That is, Moses initially wanted sacrifices to be voluntary, but after the incident of the golden calf,

Moses realized that many of his people were not sufficiently free of Egyptian superstition to adhere to the pure worship of the one and invisible God, without the aid of external means to which they had been used.

Therefore Levitical institutions were added, the purpose of which was

<sup>12</sup> "Chapter headings!"



to prevent the relapse into idolatry, and to educate the people gradually to the pure knowledge and worship of God. Had Moses intended the Levitical system [my italics:] *for all eternity* . . . the first passage . . . [would] have been entirely omitted in the Bible as being of no force and no value. . . . Psalmists and Prophets, Essenes and Pharisees, at times when idolatry had been effectively overcome, opposed the Levitical laws and institutions. . . .

It appears . . . to have been an acknowledged fact among the ancient Hebrews, as it is among modern critics, that Ezra was the final compiler of the Pentateuch. In the holy archives, rescued out of the destroyed Temple, he must have found two kinds of ancient documents, the Prophetical and Levitical. . . . Among the Prophetical scriptures, Ezra found the laws and speeches of Moses. Among the Levitical scriptures he found the Levitical laws, also ascribed to Moses. He compiled and harmonized both as best he could.

Against the Levitical institutions, we have on record an almost uninterrupted line of opposition throughout the Bible, and down to the Essenes and Pharisees, without any evidence that they, or a large portion of them, originated with Moses. . . . Jesus coincided with that party in Israel, which opposed the Levitical institutions. . . .

. . . . The Essenes and Pharisees offered theoretical opposition only, which did not directly interfere with the priestly immunities and prerogatives. But Jesus had come with the avowed intention to do it. . . . Therefore the chief priests must have hated and opposed him with all the power at their command (*ibid.*, September 10, 1869, pp. 8-9).

Behind the story of the cursing of the fig tree in Mark 11, Wise finds the second part of Jesus' sermon. The story itself is, Wise assures us, absurd:

No figs on any tree are edible in Palestine about Passover time. . . . It involves a wickedness to destroy a tree which God has intended to grow, when the Law prohibits the wanton destruction of fruit trees even in the time of war. It involves a rashness on the part of Jesus . . . which . . . cannot be harmonized with his general character. But the purpose of the incident is to let Jesus speak on the power of prayer (for so the incident concludes in both Mark and in Matthew).

Wise digresses momentarily to assert that Jesus never taught the Lord's prayer, for it was common knowledge among Jews, and then he returns to his point. In the first part of his sermon,

Jesus had argued in favor of abolishing the sacrificial system; "he dwells in the second part of his speech on the power of prayer in general and the forgiveness of sins in particular, as the mode of worship to supercede [sic] the sacrificial polity."

These sentiments of Jesus were not, Wise assures us, new. But his sentiments "alarmed the chief priests." They knew "how popular and deep-seated the anti-Levitical theories were, and felt the magnitude of the threatened danger."

Jesus' demand that the form of worship be changed from sacrifice to prayer was, Wise tells us, "a main feature in the Messianic scheme of redemption and which Jesus attempted at Jerusalem. This explains . . . the charges against Jesus . . . that he could destroy and rebuild the Temple in three days, which refers only and exclusively to the radical change in the form of worship" (*ibid.*, September 17, 1869).

Wise proceeds to the next point in the Gospel narrative, the conflict over the question of authority. Jesus, it will be recalled, is asked (Mark 11:27 ff. and parallels) by what authority he is acting. He is reported to counter with the offer to answer the question if first his questioners will tell him whether the baptism of John was from heaven or from man. When the questioners evaded responding, Jesus in turn refused to answer them. What did Wise make of all this?

Wise contends that in Hebrew history the issue of authority had never been fully resolved. It lay partly in priests, partly in prophets. In Jesus' time the Pharisees inherited the prophetic mantle, but authority had at that juncture been usurped by the priests. Now, if Jesus had claimed prophetic authority in the controversy, he would have been asked for credentials which could not be forthcoming and consequently he would have been ridiculed; we recall that, according to Wise, Jesus did not work a miracle in Jerusalem.

And even if Jesus were truly the Messiah, Wise argues, he

could scarcely maintain that the Messiah had the power to abrogate laws which had been in existence for 1,500 years! Could Jesus confront the guardians of the sacrificial system with a contention that he had been granted the authority to abrogate that which they were dedicated to maintain? (*ibid.*, September 24, 1869, pp. 8-9).

The nature of Jesus' reply — that of a simple Galilean now confronted by brilliant and educated minds and thereby choosing a counterquestion — must not be misconstrued as an unseemly dodging of the issue. Unable to point to a prophetic or messianic authority, Jesus

pointed to the authority of John who had baptized and appointed him as one of the anti-Levitical and theocratic teachers in Israel, as a representative man of those who demanded the abrogation of the Levitical institutions and priesthood. . . . He spoke in the name and the authority of the laws and the people from the standpoint of a Pharisean associate, which he considered better than the authority of the king and the prophet . . . (*ibid.*, September 24, October 1 and 8, 1869).

Jesus' view of "Pharisean" authority is discernible, according to Wise, in the parable (Mark 12:1-12 and parallels) of the vineyard owner who sends a series of servants to obtain fruit from his tenants; the tenants not only beat the servants, but finally they kill the owner's son and heir. Wise requires three issues of *The Israelite* to arrive at his explanation of the parable, for he digresses to discuss both John the Baptist and Jewish baptism.

The "parable" is not a parable, modern scholars tell us, but a loosely-knit group of symbolic events. The tenants are Israel; the owner is God. The "collectors" are the prophets; the son is Jesus. In the view of virtually all modern scholars, the "parable" arose long after Jesus' time. But, after asserting that Jesus would not skip about from subject to subject, Wise tells us what the parable means.

In Wise's explanation, it is John the Baptist who is the son, the temple is the vineyard, and the tenants are the priests.

If our suggestions are correct, the parable is genuine, and the reply of Jesus is complete. . . . God . . . entrusted this national sanctuary to the priests [tenants], who for centuries have been rebuked by the prophets [the servants], whom they have abused and scorned. Now the lord of the vineyard sent his son, John, who preached repentance [sic] and remission of sin; but he was killed [by Herod].

Wise, as though not quite sure that his interpretation is correct, spends several paragraphs defending its tenability. And having thereby protected Jesus from the possible charge of being evasive, he speaks warmly on "how Jesus confronted his powerful opponents. He did it nobly, boldly, and admirably, worthy of a great cause and a good man."

Wise interrupts his eulogistic summary:

We hope to defend Jesus of Nazareth against his adversaries and to save him from his friends. If the reader will patiently follow us through the labyrinth of researches which we must pass on account of the entirely new path we have to level, he shall finally have a full and correct image of Jesus himself, the historical man as he lived, taught, acted and suffered (*ibid.*, October 15, 1869, pp. 8-9).

Wise turns now to what he terms in his chapter heading "The Positive Element in the System of Jesus." Wise contends that Jesus espoused Jewish theocracy to the point of being unwilling to handle or even look at a Roman coin bearing an effigy of Caesar.

Therefore, in strict conformity with the law of the land, he decided that every coin bearing the effigy of Caesar should not be turned to any earthly use, but returned to Caesar. This decision was not only satisfactory to Pharisean law, and the Pharisean contempt of wealth and luxury; it was a capital hit on those who loved the Roman coins too well, better even than their laws and their country (*ibid.*, October 29 and November 5, 1869).

A long essay (in the issue of November 12, 1869) sets forth the view that "there is, indeed, ample material on record, to

prove that Jesus respected the law, and considered salvation an obedience to it." A week later, Wise gives first a definition of the Kingdom of God, and then his opinion of Jesus' view. The definition which Wise gives he labels in very many places in his writings as "theocracy." The kingdom of God signifies "the unlimited dominion of God on earth as in heaven, and the connection of all men with him by the holy ties of supreme love. . . . The kingdom of heaven is in time and eternity, above and below, in this and every other world, in life and in death, unlimited, immutable, eternal and universal. . . ." The commentators, however, says Wise, make of the kingdom of heaven "a mystic phantom beyond the stars for some ascetic, weeping and praying misanthropes." Jesus wanted to abolish Levitical laws and to usher in the kingdom of heaven; he was opposed to human kings, whether a Jewish Herodian or a Roman Caesar. Jesus

had come . . . to deface the Levitical priests, to make an end of corruption in high places, to return the Roman money to Rome, to restore the dominion of justice and love, to reconstruct the kingdom of heaven. . . .

Did Jesus preach this gospel to Jews alone, or was it intended for the whole world? Like the prophets of old, he must have believed in the final triumph of truth, the redemption and fraternization of the human family in justice, freedom and peace. . . . All pious Israelites believed it, and repeated it thrice every day in their prayers. But Jesus knew this was not the mission of one man or any one age. . . . Our age is not ripe for the consummation of that divine purpose, how much less was the age of Jesus; and he must have known it. He considered it his mission to restore the kingdom of heaven in Israel. "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of Israel," if not his words, expressed certainly his sentiment (*ibid.*, November 19, 1869, pp. 8-9).

In several succeeding issues of *The Israelite*, Wise discusses the relationship of Jesus to Jewish law. As before, he again asserts that Jesus advocated "theocracy." Wise then states that, when Jesus' teaching of the law of love evoked the observation that

"no man thereafter durst ask him any question" (Mark 12:34), it meant that there was satisfaction among most of the Jews with his viewpoint and that "the triumph of Jesus with that class of Pharisees was complete" (*ibid.*, November 26, 1869). Wise goes on to concede that this latter conclusion is discernible only in Mark and in Luke.

The proof which Wise offers is the passage in which Jesus is asked, "What is the greatest commandment?" In Mark, Jesus replies: "The first is, 'Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one.' The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these." Matthew and Luke, however, lack the citation of the "Hear, O Israel." Wise goes astray here, attributing the lack only to Matthew, and mistakenly asserting that Luke, like Mark, contains it. He would have been on sounder ground to have contrasted Mark with both Luke and Matthew, rather than Mark and Luke with Matthew. Having made the error, Wise goes on to state that Jesus' triumph with the Pharisees was complete, but "Matthew, whose anti-Pharisean [sic] tendencies we will discuss in another chapter, turns the statement of the two other Evangelists, to convey the direct contrary (XXII, 46)." It is nevertheless clear, says Wise, that "had Jesus entertained the remotest idea of abrogating the law, this question and the subsequent reply [which we find in Mark] would appear simply absurd. . . ." But why the different reply in Matthew, where the "Hear, O Israel" is omitted? Rather laconically, Wise gives an answer, and we must supply some words which Wise lacks. Mark (and in his mistaken view, Luke) is a strict unitarian; "it appears that 'God is One' was [an obstacle] in Matthew's way, who was acquainted with Paul's son of God."

Yet, despite the differences in the Gospel accounts, there is a basic agreement in the matter of the question and the answer,

says Wise, to show that the love of God "is an integral part of Jesus' scheme of salvation."

Wise now proceeds to set forth at some length a distinction between "Love" and "Gnosis." Love was for Jesus, as for Moses, the "Postulate of Ethics." To hold such a view was "in strict compliance with one class of Pharisees." The "gnostics" (not to be confused, says Wise, with the heretics of Christian history) were those who emphasized study and contemplation. They included the Essenes and the Therapeutae of Egypt, as well as those rabbis who expressed scorn for the 'Am Ha'aretz (the untutored). The principal exponent of such gnosticism was Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, upon whom the anti-gnostic Pharisees imposed a ban shortly after the fall of Jerusalem. From this latter incident it is clear, says Wise, that Pharisees "as a class were not responsible for this peculiar gnosticism. They held views entirely contrary. . . ." Passages in *Aboth*, such as "knowledge (research) is not the main thing, deeds are," represent the Pharisean school of love. The Levitical laws gave rise to Gnosis; the Mosaic, to Love. "Jesus advanced the law of love as the criterion by which to recognize the eternal and unalterable laws, the only infallible guides to happiness. . . ."<sup>13</sup>

The agreement of Jesus with the Pharisees was not only in the "Postulate of Ethics"; it was also in what Wise terms "the Postulate of Hermeneutics." This latter, according to Wise, is expressed in the following passage: "'Thou shalt love thy neighbor like thyself,' says Rabbi Akiba, 'is the cardinal principle of the law.' Ben Azai [sic] said, 'This is the book of the genealogy of man' is a principle superior to the above.'" In a

<sup>13</sup> Wise continues: "If Jesus had been asked the question of crusades against infidels, pyres for heretics [sic] and unbelievers, persecution and torture for schismatics and Jews, exceptional laws and oppression for dissenters and heathens, inquisitions and auto-da-fées [sic] in the name of the church; he would have turned aside with a shudder in his veins and exclaimed, 'Ye are ripe for the kingdom of Satan' " (*ibid.*, December 3, 1869).

footnote Wise supplies the Hebrew and his source, "Yalkut 613 from Saphira." A few paragraphs later, Wise cites Hillel's formulation of the Golden Rule as still another example of the Law of Love.

We need not linger on Wise's extended remarks on tangential issues. After several such pages, he proceeds to what he calls "A Review": . . .

Jesus expected to save the people of Israel, to restore the kingdom of heaven. It was wise, sublime, thoroughly Jewish and worthy of a pious, enlightened and enthusiastic patriot. . . . The scheme was eminently religious and eminently impractical. Rome would not favor any policy or tolerate any popular movement which might have rescued Israel from the doom of destruction . . . great souls feel common disappointments much deeper than vulgar ones do. . . . Jesus standing upon the ruins of his hope of hopes . . . must indeed have exclaimed, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

What office, asks Wise, did Jesus fill?

Peter's Messiah, a Jewish phantomism; Paul's Son of God, a Pagan vision from Olympus; and John's Logos, a purely Alexandrian product of speculation, are ideas as widely different from one another, as all of them are from the Godhead Jesus of trinitarian orthodoxy. They were three distinct epochs in the origin of Christianity. None of these titles does Jesus use or claim in the Gospels (*ibid.*, December 31, 1869).

Jesus himself never made the claim to Davidic descent (*ibid.*, January 7, 1870). Rather, there is evidence "from fragments in the Gospels on the dissensions among the disciples about rank and precedence in the kingdom of heaven" that some of the disciples "must have speculated for Jesus on some kind of spiritual governorship in the reconstructed Theocracy" (*ibid.*, January 14, 1870). The office of Jesus, in his own eyes, was "Son of Man." This "was the title of the prophets in and after the Babylonian exile." Indeed,

the prophet was to be the chief man in the Theocracy. This is the position which Jesus expected in the reconstructed kingdom of heaven.



It was not an office with emoluments. . . . It was simply and exclusively a moral position. . . .

Had Jesus actually restored and maintained the Theocracy he would have been its prophet. . . . Had his disciples not committed the unpardonable blunder of proclaiming him the Messiah, he might have escaped crucifixion. . . . But yielding to the ambition and false calculation of his disciples, he sealed his death warrant (*ibid.*, January 28, 1870).

Next Wise turns to a problem: "Jesus of Nazareth was a Pharisean doctor. He coincided with that party in every point of Theocracy." Then why, asks Wise, do New Testament writings attack the Pharisees and distort what they were? In answer, Wise combs rabbinic literature so as to be able to assess the Pharisees justly; and such quotations he balances by the assertion that "The anti-Pharisean passages of the gospels were written long after the death of Jesus . . ., when the Jewish sects besides the Pharisees and Christians almost disappeared, and Pharisaism and Judaism had become synonymous; and still later, in the second century, when Judaism and Christianity had become two distinct religions" (*ibid.*, March 4, 1870).

In the next issue (March 11, 1870) Wise studies the anti-Pharisaic elements common to all three gospels (and thus, in his view, part of the aboriginal Gospel), sifting them so that they emerge no longer as anti-Pharisaic, but only as a denunciation of "hypocrisy, avarice and morbid ambition." The same pursuit occupies him in the following issue (March 18, 1870). He prolongs the study still one more issue; therein he aligns Hillel with exponents of the Law of Love, and Shammai with the Gnostics. On this basis he is ready (*ibid.*, April 1, 1870) to conclude that Jesus "clung most tenaciously to the genuine Hillelites."

Wise proceeds in the same issue to try to distinguish between the genuine aphorisms of Jesus and the spurious. Those aphorisms which agree with the rabbis, and especially with the Hillelites, are genuine; the others are not.

For perhaps the twentieth time Wise repeats that Jesus was a "Pharisean doctor of the Hillel school." He ends the segment of his essay with these words: "He spoke of his people with respect. He said to the Samaritan woman, 'Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jew' (John IV, 22)."

In capital letters there appear the words, "to be continued." Nevertheless, this was the end.

Why did Wise not continue? Why did he not finish? We do not know. Perhaps his reason was profound; perhaps he simply ran out of time. Indeed, it may have been that he had said all that he wanted to say.

If it should be suggested that he abstained from finishing because he had little confidence in the reliability of what he had written, then it can be reported that, in those instances where his subsequent writings touch on the contents of "Jesus Himself," the basic viewpoint and even specific details remain virtually unaltered. While I have not encountered a second mention of an aboriginal Gospel which served all three or four, or a clear repetition of his division of Pentateuchal religion into the Mosaic and the Levitic, yet overtones of both reappear, for example, in the material on Jesus in *History of the Hebrews' Second Commonwealth* (1880), pp. 255-68. Moreover, his portrait of Jesus recurs without change in a work, originally published in 1874, which enjoyed three printings, the last in 1888; I refer to *The Martyrdom of Jesus of Nazareth* which I mentioned earlier. The Jesus who walked in the pages of "Jesus Himself" walks these pages, too. Indeed, *The Martyrdom* is in a sense the conclusion to the unfinished "Jesus Himself," for in *The Martyrdom* Wise takes up the account virtually where it left off.

Wise is not to be classified as a scholar in the same sense in which we rank David Friedrich Strauss, or Ferdinand Christian Baur, or Oskar Holtzmann, or others of his time. Scholarly,

perhaps, but a scholar of New Testament he is assuredly not. His writings in this area are devoid of any lasting scientific value; he was essentially a shrewd, self-taught homiletician who wrote farfetched things. But here is a matter always to be remembered: Bible, whether Old or New Testament, has always attracted the mind that is capricious and cavalier. Wise was doing the same kind of thing that many second-rate Protestant scholars were doing. He is more farfetched only when we isolate single instances; in the totality of the effect, one need only peruse those who have summarized the overabundant books called "The Life of Jesus" to see that Wise was in the main stream of the imaginative Protestant dilettantes.

But when one assesses the total man — a very busy rabbi, the editor of both an English and a German weekly, a traveler, a novelist (sometimes he had two novels running serially at the same time), and the compiler of a prayer book — and when one remembers that he fathered the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, then one wonders how he had the time to devise and record his ingenious theories, and the tenacity to stick to them. He had neither the training nor the discipline for exact and lasting scholarship.

Yet his writings on Jesus in general, and the incomplete "book" which we have surveyed in particular, have an importance which transcends by far their lack of permanent academic merit. Wise began by doubting that Jesus ever lived; then, as we saw, he began to write his biography.

Nineteenth-century New Testament scholarship among Protestants was aimed, both consciously and unconsciously, at recovering the Jesus of history and at placing him in his Jewish setting. To accomplish this meant to Wise's Gentile contemporaries exactly what it meant to Wise: to peel off layers of legend and theology and to restore the man. Except among those

Christians and Jews who made a Gentile out of Jesus, such a reconstituted man was plainly and simply a Jew. It seems to me justified to suggest that, at the time Wise was denying that Jesus ever lived, he was negating a "Christian" Jesus. Once the thought came to him that Jesus was a Jew, Wise not only affirmed his existence, but made him the protagonist, indeed the hero, of his account.

Truly, for Wise, Jesus was a noble Jew whose only misdemeanor was his mistake in yielding to the importunings of Peter and the other disciples. It is they who are the villains to Wise — except that he finds an even greater archvillain when he deals with the apostolic age and directs his attention to Paul.

Wise, however, falls short of something which later Jewish writers, both scholars and dilettantes alike, endeavor to do. In Wise there is an effort merely to *restore* the Jewishness of Jesus; in later writers the quest extends to *reclaiming* Jesus for Judaism. Joseph Klausner, in *Jesus of Nazareth* (1922), English translation, p. 414, does some reclaiming:

... Jesus is, for the Jewish nation, *a great teacher of morality and an artist in parable*. . . . If . . . this ethical code be stripped of its wrappings of miracles and mysticism, the Book of the Ethics of Jesus will be one of the choicest treasures in the literature of Israel for all time.<sup>14</sup>

If the distinction which I intend between restoring and reclaiming Jesus is clear — the distinction is one of degree and thereby almost one of kind — then the significance of Wise's writings begins to emerge. The age-old antipathy, as reflected in the travesties on Jesus, as in *Toledot Yeshu*, was inconsistent with an age of enlightenment and broad horizons. Moreover, there was no spiritual or physical ghetto in the United States, and Jews and Christians lived side by side in a relatively high

<sup>14</sup> Klausner was taken to task by Armand Kaminka (ארתור, August, 1922) for the sentiments quoted. A partial translation of Kaminka's sharp criticism is to be found in *Harvard Theological Review* (January, 1923, pp. 100-3).

state of harmony and good will. Christianity inevitably intruded into the consciousness of Jews, and so did Jesus.

Wise wrote as he did because he was Wise; he was moved so to write because no Jew breathing the free air of America could refrain from coming to grips in some way with Christianity and with Jesus. Indifference and total lack of contact were possible only in ghettos where medievalism had survived. Wise wrote because he had to write; he could not be the leader of an American Jewish community and not do so. In 1876, Max Schlesinger, a rabbi in Albany, published *The Historical Jesus of Nazareth*; in the same year, Frederic de Sola Mendes published *Defence, not Defiance: A Hebrew's Reply to the Missionaries*.

I have spoken above of a distinguished work by the Swedish scholar Gösta Lindeskog, *Die Jesusfrage im neuzeitlichen Judentum* ("The Question of Jesus in Recent Judaism"). It is an excellent summary of books by Jews on Jesus, as well as of articles appearing in scientific journals. If there is any weakness in the book, it is the understandable failure to include the sermons and the small tracts which American rabbis produced in some number. When Klausner's book first appeared in its English translation, another Wise, Stephen S. Wise, reviewed the book from his pulpit (December, 1925). The press accounts disclose that the sermon was a "reclamation" of Jesus, and a historic storm broke over the head of Stephen Wise.<sup>15</sup> It is this kind of incident and writing which is lacking in Lindeskog.

Joseph Bonsirven, a French priest whose book *Les Juifs et Jésus* was published in 1937, addresses himself in quite good measure to the sermons and tracts of American rabbis; in fact, he asks whimsically if it is the usual practice among American

<sup>15</sup> I record my thanks to Rabbi Albert G. Minda for giving me his file on this affair. It is a good collection of clippings from the days and weeks after Wise's sermon. An account of the matter can be found in the *Review of Reviews*, LXXIII, 203, and in the *Christian Century*, XLIII, 26.

rabbis to publish their sermons. He mentions the Stephen Wise matter several times. Bonsirven records with acknowledged pleasure that the Jewish attitude towards Jesus has undergone the notable change from disparagement to reclamation. He says somewhat plaintively (p. 213): "Jésus, ils entendent de tirer chez eux, ils ne veulent pas venir chez lui" (The Jews mean to draw Jesus to themselves, they do not want to come to him). The impression which one gets from Bonsirven is that the reclamation of Jesus is, or has been, a matter of the twenties and thirties of this century. The rabbis whom he cites include Hyman G. Enelow, Abraham J. Feldman, G. George Fox, Solomon B. Freehof, Ephraim Frisch, Emil G. Hirsch, Ferdinand M. Isserman, Joseph Krauskopf, Louis I. Newman, Abram Simon, Ernest Trattner, and Stephen Wise. The book, then, is weighted towards Bonsirven's own day and ours.

The fact is, however, that restoration, or even reclamation, began a full half century before the period which Bonsirven discusses. No one has yet studied in detail the Jewish "reclamation" of Jesus. It could well make a fascinating subject, especially if one went away from the highroads which Lindeskog maps out and into the earlier bypaths of the American congregational rabbis and their minor publications.

Such a study would give us a fuller perspective on Isaac Mayer Wise and his approach to Jesus. He marks a significant chapter, if not in the "reclamation" of Jesus, at least in his "restoration."

# The Temple Emanu-El Theological Seminary of New York City

BERTRAM W. KORN

It is with a feeling of profound affection and gratitude that I share in this academic tribute to the American Jewish Archives, and to its founder and director, Professor Jacob R. Marcus. The Archives has grown, in the brief span of ten years, to a position of prestige and usefulness among American historical resources, primarily through the imagination, skill, and inspiration of its Director. With single-minded devotion he has created a climate of enthusiasm for the collection of source materials in the field of Jewish Americana, for the study and publication of the results of research, and for the assessment of the experiences of the Jews and of their heritage in this land. May the Archives continue to expand and prosper under the aegis of its creative Director, my teacher and friend, to whose guidance I owe the stimulation and development of my own concern with research in American Jewish themes.

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THE FORTUNATE discovery of the minute book of the Emanu-El Theological Seminary Society of New York City (now safely deposited in the American Jewish Archives) makes it possible, with far more accuracy than before,<sup>1</sup> to describe the early history of the first effort to create a Reform theological seminary in the United States.

Dr. Bertram Wallace Korn is the spiritual leader of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, Philadelphia, Pa.

<sup>1</sup> Bertram W. Korn, *Eventful Years and Experiences* (Cincinnati, 1954), 160-61.

American Jewish leaders had early felt the necessity of creating a Jewish theological seminary in America, where young men, born in this country, might be trained for the rabbinate. Jewish congregational officers were distressed by the shortage of able rabbis, and even the few capable men who came here from abroad with the requisite knowledge and background were at an obvious disadvantage in seeking to meet the needs of congregations in this country. Language barriers and strange new customs were difficult obstacles to overcome. Only one effort to establish an American Jewish institution of higher learning was made before the Civil War; Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise of Cincinnati founded Zion College in 1855. It functioned for two years as a school for the study of the humanities, and included a department of Hebrew and Jewish learning. Wise envisioned its future as a total university complex, with a theological seminary at its center. Unfortunately, Zion College survived for only two years. Geographic jealousies and ineptitudes in leadership militated against its success.

After the Civil War, however, when civilian energies might once again be directed towards peaceful pursuits, and after Jews in the North had gained a heightened feeling of at-homeness in America, a number of practical attempts were made to establish a rabbinical school. One was the Philadelphia plan, suggested by leaders of the local Jewish community and supported by the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, which eventuated in the opening of Maimonides College in Philadelphia in 1867; a second was the scheme for the creation of a seminary under the auspices of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, which was abandoned after a year of acrimonious discussion; the third was the Emanu-El proposal.<sup>2</sup>

Isaac Mayer Wise's Zion College had been envisioned, like

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller description of the early history of the seminary movement and of the activity of Maimonides College, see Korn, *op. cit.*, 151-213.



his Cleveland Conference of Rabbis, as a common meeting-ground for traditionalists and Reformers; Maimonides College leaned towards the traditional, but two of its three graduates became Reform rabbis; the B'nai B'rith seminary, which was to become the core of an eventual Jewish University, was also conceived of as a compromise between traditionalism and liberalism. But the Temple Emanu-El seminary, characteristically, was designed to train only Reform rabbis, under the auspices of the most radical of the Reform congregations in America.

Broached first at a meeting of the ritual committee of Temple Emanu-El on May 5, 1865, and recommended as an expression of "thankfulness to the Almighty" for the cessation of war,<sup>3</sup> the new seminary was not suggested as an answer to the needs of the total Jewish community, but rather as an avenue for the extension of Reform Judaism. In a communication sent to the members of Congregation Emanu-El summoning them to a meeting on June 18, 1865, to discuss the proposal, Rabbi Samuel Adler urged the creation of a seminary for the training of rabbis who would carry out the work of Reform:

He that is a Jew, not merely in name but from conviction and with all his heart, must feel deeply interested in having our pure religion freed from the alloy which the dark ages of the past and especially the terrible fate of our ancestors have mingled with it so that this purified faith may extend to larger circles and be transmitted to our children and to coming generations. In this land of liberty we ought not only to enjoy our liberty in trade and commerce, but also to retrieve our most sacred professions, our religious confession and our religious life from the various disfigurements and defects which are the sad inheritance of still sadder times. Here in this country with no interference on the part of the government it is our most sacred duty to cause Judaism to be universally respected and to justify the prediction that "our religion is our wisdom and our understanding in the eyes of the nations."

<sup>3</sup> Minute Book, I.

But in order to bring about this desirable state of things we need men endowed with thorough knowledge and inspired with a glowing zeal for their calling, men who have devoted their lives to the study and the spreading of the law . . . theological orators *who can preach in the English tongue*, who can be heard and understood by the rising generation. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Adler said, in his letter, that no tremendous sum of money would be needed to create the new seminary, for no young men were available to enter immediately upon theological studies. The only pressing requirement was the creation of a preparatory class or department; a small sum of money would guarantee the establishment of such a school. Only after a number of years would it be necessary to create a full seminary for graduate instruction.

At the first public meeting of the new organization, called the Emanu-El Theological Seminary Society, on June 18, 1865, twenty-three gentlemen joined as life members at an individual cost of \$100, and seventy-five agreed to contribute \$10 a year as annual members. A board of seven members was elected to carry on the work of the Society, and a set of bylaws was adopted. The preamble to the latter indicated the awareness of the framers that the founding of "a fully endowed Jewish Theological Seminary" would take a long time; for the present they would be content with "the assisting . . . of such Jewish youths as wish to study Jewish Theology." The bylaws included a number of significant provisions: "The object of this Institution shall be the education of Jewish youth, on the basis of reform . . . a majority of the board shall at all times be members of the Emanu-El Congregation of the City of New York. . . . The minister of the Temple Emanu-El be at all times *ex Officio* a member of the Board of Trustees but not to have a vote." The limited character of the Society was established from the first.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-4.

Not only was its objective restricted to service to the Reform movement, but its control was to be vested in the hands of one Reform congregation.<sup>5</sup>

It is doubtful that the small number of radical Reform congregations at the time could have mustered enough energy and enthusiasm to support a full-fledged seminary of their own; certainly no single congregation, whatever its enthusiasm or substance, could succeed in carrying out so ambitious a project. Although the membership solicitation proceeded satisfactorily, to the extent that thirty-nine life members and one hundred and twenty annual members had been enrolled by the time of the first annual meeting on October 8, 1865,<sup>6</sup> the Emanu-El seminary remained a paper organization. Public reaction to its creation was altogether wanting; no pupils had responded to the advertisements offering scholarships, and circulars which appealed to other Reform congregations throughout the country for financial support and for recommendations of students drew no replies.<sup>7</sup> There was no planned academic program; no faculty members had been appointed; no one person, neither Moses Schloss, the president, nor any board member, nor Rabbi Adler himself, gave any indication of that kind of devotion and consecration which alone would serve to attract students to a non-existent institution.

In the fall of 1866, two students, William Rosenblatt of Hartford, and Michael Cohn of New York City, matriculated at Columbia College at the expense of the Emanu-El Society, and studied Hebrew with Isaac Adler, son of Rabbi Adler, but both, for unexplained reasons, abandoned their purpose within a year.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26, 34.

Meanwhile, it was beginning to dawn upon the leaders of the Society that other Reform congregations would give no support to an institution named for and dominated by one congregation. Rabbi David Einhorn, who had just come to New York from Philadelphia, was, therefore, invited to become an honorary member of the board. No sooner was he elected than he became an outspoken leader of the effort to broaden the base of the Society. He spoke at length at the annual meeting on October 21, 1866. Although he agreed that membership should be limited to Reform Jews, he insisted that the inclusion of the name of Temple Emanu-El in the title of the Society, and the restriction that a majority of board members be affiliated with that congregation, would weaken the Society's efforts. He spared no words in his frank appraisal of the failure of the Society:

... Your institution exists only in the imagination; you have a pretty large number of members, an excellent Board of trustees, annual meetings, but only one thing is wanting — the Seminary; you have everything, but neither teachers nor pupils. We have just heard of the existence of two pupils, but these are waiting for a Seminary as for the Messiah. Where is their professor? Dr. Adler, this I know, does not instruct them. Your Seminary is a still-born child, because the noble mother that bore it was pleased to wear a too tightly-laced corset. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Einhorn's plea, coupled with the obvious disappointment of other leaders at the moribund state of the Society's affairs, created enough momentum for the annual meeting to authorize a change of name. At a meeting held on November 15, 1866, the board approved a new name, The American Hebrew College of the City of New York. Thereafter memberships were solicited and obtained from members of other Reform congregations in the city. As evidence of the high hopes of the board at this

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-19; *Hebrew Leader* (New York), October 26, 1866, 4.

time, it is instructive to note the refusal of the board to grant a stipend to a young Hartford boy who was studying at the seminary in Breslau, because "we intend to build a College here."<sup>10</sup>

But prospects did not improve. Although the new name was adopted at the annual meeting of 1867, and Rabbis Adler and Einhorn were authorized to engage "a Professor of the Hebrew Language" at a cost of not more than \$150 a year, there were still no definite plans, no regular courses of proposed study, and no students.<sup>11</sup> A Mr. Schnabel was engaged as instructor in Hebrew in November, 1867,<sup>12</sup> but the minutes fail to indicate that any pupils enrolled for his course. By May, 1868, the fate of the seminary appeared so dismal that one member of the board offered this pessimistic resolution:

Whereas, It is the opinion of this Board that the welfare of this society can only be promoted by undaunted exertion on our part, and

Whereas, From the experience the Board has had for the past two years, we find that there are at present, no young men in the country who will devote themselves to the Jewish Ministry, therefore

Resolved, That two candidates of the Jewish Theology shall be procured either from Europe or any part of the United States, for the purpose of perfecting themselves in their theological studies, combined with the English language and literature. . . .<sup>13</sup>

So quickly had the members of the Board changed their minds about the prospects of the seminary that they gave up all hope of creating a school, or of assembling classes of students, and now would be content to find two candidates anywhere in the

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

world who had already begun to study for the rabbinate and would be willing to come to New York City. Advertisements were inserted in Jewish papers in the United States and Europe "advising all persons who have already laid the foundation to a course of study in Jewish Theology, that upon application to the Hebrew Theological Seminary of New York, they will be transported here, at the cost of the Society, and may continue to complete their studies under the auspices of this Society, whose object shall also be to procure proper situations for such candidates on completion of their course of study."<sup>14</sup>

Again an application for a stipend for European study was rejected; on October 12, 1868, the board refused such a request by Isaac Schoenberg of Mainz.<sup>15</sup> The members of the board stood firm in their determination to prepare rabbis for the American ministry in the United States, rather than in Europe. But the advertisements achieved no result. And now, apparently, recriminations began. The secretary gives no hint of the reason, but the Society was formally dissolved on November 10, 1869, after another year of failure, and reorganized a month later, once again under the aegis of Temple Emanu-El.<sup>16</sup> The contributions which had been made by members of other Reform congregations were returned to them, at their request, aggregating a total of \$1,560. There had probably been no single cause disrupting The American Hebrew College of the City of New York, but a combination of causes: disappointment among the Emanu-El leaders that there had not been an enthusiastic influx of other Reform Jews into the Society, disagreement among the various rabbis over suggested proposals for action, disillusionment of non-members of Emanu-El at the

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

continuing domination of the board by leaders of Emanu-El, and despair of any practical results by most of the members.

The new Society, returned to the matrix of Congregation Emanu-El, failed to accomplish anything remarkable. An effort was made in 1870 to establish branch societies in various cities, but only two congregations responded, and the idea was dropped.<sup>17</sup> The Society's funds were, in a moment of caution, transferred to the treasury of the congregation. Finally, at a meeting on July 6, 1871, the board adopted the concept which it had resisted since 1865: the financial maintenance of American students at European seminaries.<sup>18</sup> One hundred and fifty dollars a year was voted to Henry Cohn in 1871; \$350 a year was awarded to Emil G. Hirsch in 1873;<sup>19</sup> and \$150 a year to Samuel Sale in 1874.<sup>20</sup> (The larger amount to Hirsch is explained probably by the close personal relationship which existed between Rabbi Adler and Emil's father, Rabbi Samuel Hirsch of Philadelphia.) Other applications for stipends were considered; some were rejected because of lack of fitness on the part of students; others were approved as the years went by.<sup>21</sup> The seminary of Temple Emanu-El, during this period, never really functioned as a school. It was not until about 1877, under the vigorous leadership of Rabbi Gustav Gottheil, Samuel Adler's colleague and eventual successor in the Emanu-El pulpit, that the Society actually created a preparatory rabbinical seminary. For about ten years, this school gave preparatory training to rabbinical students, and then sent them for further education to Europe or to the Hebrew Union College in

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 38, 41, 43.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 50, 52.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

Cincinnati. The story of these years is detailed in Richard Gottheil's biography of his father.<sup>22</sup>

But by 1877, when Temple Emanu-El established a genuine preparatory school, the forces of moderate Reform, led by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, had already succeeded in creating the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and its protégé, the Hebrew Union College. Too late — on October 26, 1875, to be exact — some three weeks after the Hebrew Union College opened its doors in Cincinnati, Rabbi Samuel Adler realized that the only way to establish a viable seminary would be through joint, completely cooperative action by a group of congregations working together in harmonious and idealistic fashion. His recommendation that Temple Emanu-El take the lead in organizing a new union of Reform congregations, primarily for the purpose of establishing a seminary, had been too long in coming.<sup>23</sup> Isaac Mayer Wise had already done this, and in such a way as to gain the support not only of the moderate Reformers, but also of liberal traditionalists.

It was, in part, this organizational problem which had defeated Temple Emanu-El. The pioneering task of creating an American Jewish seminary was too big for any one congregation. Many congregations, with all the imaginative leadership which they could muster, would be needed to support such an institution morally and spiritually, as well as financially. Of even greater significance was the lack of a single visionary mind at the helm, to grapple with the realistic problems of curriculum, faculty, students, books, and the hundred and one other difficulties which assail the leader of an educational undertaking. Isaac Leeser had played such a role at the inception

<sup>22</sup> Richard Gottheil, *The Life of Gustav Gottheil. Memoir of a Priest in Israel* (Williamsport, Pa., 1936), 48-59.

<sup>23</sup> Minute Book, 54.



of Maimonides College; his death soon afterwards doomed Maimonides College to eventual failure. Isaac Mayer Wise was this single-minded leader in Cincinnati; the success of the Hebrew Union College was in direct proportion to his own tremendous labors. The Temple Emanu-El people, however, sought to establish a seminary through the (at best) halfhearted efforts of laymen. It is doubtful if Rabbi Samuel Adler had the temperament, the vigor, and the imagination to carry out the heavy responsibilities of creating a new seminary — but he was never even given the chance! His name was added to the board of the Emanu-El Society as an afterthought, and then as an ex-officio member without the right to vote.

But the fundamental occasion (if not the reason) for the failure of all of the earliest ventures in the creation of an American Jewish seminary was the difficulty of attracting young American boys to rabbinic careers. Zion College, Maimonides College, and the Emanu-El seminary collapsed so easily and so quickly because there was no demand for the sort of educational opportunity which they offered. It required a tremendously effective and idealistic leader to wheedle, cajole, and persuade boys to undertake the arduous studies which would prepare them to assume the burdens of a ministry which was, at this particular juncture of American Jewish life, especially onerous and difficult. A genuinely able president or dean would have inspired young men with a vision of the dramatic opportunity which was theirs to serve their people, their faith, and their God through the ministry. Such an educator would have been able to rescue from despondency a young man like Henry Cohn, who had the integrity to write this pathetic letter to the Emanu-El Society after a year in Berlin as the first Emanu-El scholar to be sent abroad:

Berlin, Dec[em]b[er] 3rd, 1872.

Moses Schloss, Esq.  
New York

Dear Sir:

Being more than a year in this country for the purpose of preparing myself for the Jewish ministry and having been sent there for that object by "The Emanu-El Theological Sem[inary] Ass[ociatio]n," I consider it my duty to acquaint you with the present state of my studies.

Before my departure for Europe I was well aware of the great difficulties connected with the study of the Talmud and the Rabbinical Literature. I was convinced that these studies were in some respects more difficult than those of any other of the learned professions. But, notwithstanding these obstacles, I thought that with the proper perseverance and diligence I would be able to attain my object. You have received the reports of my instructors respecting my progress during the 1st term. Encouraged by the labor which I had expended on my studies, they believed themselves justified in advising me to proceed. These testimonials gave me stronger hopes. I began the work of the following term with renewed vigor, yes, I can say I worked even more diligently than during the first session. But I must confess, to my sorrow that my labor was not crowned with that success which should encourage me to continue the study of Jewish theology any longer. Now at the end of a year on looking back at the way I have passed over I find that my progress was unhappily transient, that the results gained are small and the obstacles to be overcome [are] stupendous. I have therefore on serious consultation with my instructors and friends come to the conclusion that it is impossible for me to attain the object desired.

I regret very much that I must come to this conclusion, but according to my view of the case it is my duty to sacrifice all personal considerations for the sake of our sacred cause. It is not enough that the ministers in Israel be enthusiastic, they *must* also be men of superior mental endowments, men who are at all times able to grapple with the great religious and social questions of the age. In America especially, where there are ministers who are by no means fit for their calling, such men as I have before mentioned are now absolutely necessary. I feel that I have not these endowments, and my experience in Germany has convinced me beyond all doubt that diligence alone

is not sufficient. For these reasons therefore, I have come to the conclusion that I would serve the interests of Judaism better, if I do not become a minister.

I hope that you and all the members of the Association will after these statements not consider me as one who has become tired of the hard work and consequently gives it up, but as one whom duty and circumstances over which he has no control compel to sever himself from that which is dearest to his heart. Before closing my letter I must thank you and all the officers and members of the society for the aid granted, and wish from the bottom of my heart that very soon such Jewish youth will be found who are in all respects fitted to be the mental and religious guides of American Judaism. May the pain which I experience myself in leaving these pursuits atone in some measure for your disappointed hopes.

I remain,

Yours very respectfully,

HENRY COHN<sup>24</sup>

All this is not to say that the Emanu-El project was a complete and total failure. The recognition of the need for an American seminary which impelled the leaders of the Temple to create their Society was a positive achievement; the collection of funds which, eventually, were used to endow scholarships which enabled American Jewish boys to study at European seminaries was a positive achievement; the gradual awakening of public opinion throughout the country for the support of rabbinic training, to which the Emanu-El Society contributed, was a positive achievement; the subsidization of the rabbinic education of superior leaders like Emil G. Hirsch and Samuel Sale was a positive achievement — indeed, the funds of the Emanu-El Seminary have been used to this very day to subvention the rabbinic education of young men at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion — surely a lasting contribution.

<sup>24</sup> 47-49. The letter closed with a postscript promising to repay the funds granted to him and requesting a further loan, which, however, was refused.



# The Semikah

of the Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler

JOSHUA BLOCH

THE Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler (1843-1926) was one of the great American Jewish scholars called upon to preside over the affairs of the Hebrew Union College. A prodigious and prolific scholar, he was steeped in the learning and lore of his people, and was fully at home in the literatures and philosophies of the Western world, ancient and modern. When, in 1903, he assumed the presidency of the Hebrew Union College, he brought to his task also the practical knowledge and experience which he had gained through a long career in the American rabbinate. Under his guidance, the educational and administrative practices of the oldest American training school for rabbis, located in Cincinnati, Ohio, underwent manifold changes. The eighteen and a half years of his administration comprise in the history of that institution a period marked by notable achievements, all of them tending to raise the standing of the College, in the world of Jewish and theological scholarship, and to elevate the position which it occupied among American institutions of higher learning.

Under Kaufmann Kohler's administration, the Hebrew Union College transferred its location from its modest building on West Sixth Street to the imposing structures reared on the heights (Clifton Avenue), in close proximity to the University

Dr. Joshua Bloch, former librarian, chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, passed away on September 26, 1957.

of Cincinnati. Kohler encouraged the growth and development of the College library, whose resources are comparable to some of the best collections of Jewish and related literatures anywhere else. All this was not attained without a determined and successful effort to gain munificent-minded friends for the institution and to effect exacting changes in the administrative practices and procedures, especially those which governed the admission of students and the raising of the requirements for graduation. He raised the academic standards of the College by systematizing its curriculum, by introducing into it a number of new courses, he himself taking charge of some of them, and by lengthening its course of study from eight to nine years, the first four of which were spent in its Preparatory Department, followed by another four years in its Collegiate Department. The ninth was to be devoted exclusively to post-graduate studies.

Moreover, Kohler also proceeded to strengthen the faculty of the Hebrew Union College by augmenting its ranks with men whose fame in the world of scholarship was already well-established. In the course of time he added several younger men, graduates of the College. The first of them was Julian Morgenstern, and the last of his appointees was Jacob Rader Marcus. Both of these men, native sons of this blessed land, have attained positions of well-merited recognition as competent scholars — each in his chosen field of learning — and able administrators. As Dr. Kohler's successor in the presidency of the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Morgenstern served with distinction from 1921 to 1947. He, too, drew from the ranks of the graduates of the College other learned men who have likewise served on the faculty of the Hebrew Union College with notable success.

Dr. Jacob R. Marcus has achieved wide recognition as an expert in American Jewish history, a considerably neglected field in Jewish historiography. As the energetic founder and

director of the American Jewish Archives, he has created an institution which has already become a remarkably rich repository of papers and documents whose historical value cannot be overestimated. It is virtually impossible to undertake the successful pursuit of research, leading to the historical presentation of any aspect of American Jewish experience, without access to the resources of that remarkable institution.

It is in tribute to Dr. Marcus that the present writer offers for publication the text, with facsimile of the original document, of the *semikah*, the rabbinical diploma, which Dr. Kohler received at the hands of Dr. Joseph Aub, eminent rabbi of Berlin. The use of this document, in an effort to honor Dr. Marcus, is indeed appropriate, for he represents the last of the group of scholars who was called by Dr. Kohler to serve on the faculty of the Hebrew Union College and, incidentally, the only one of those whom Kohler called out of the ranks of those Hebrew Union College graduates whom he had himself ordained. Dr. Marcus carries in himself much of the spirit and zeal for the advancement of Jewish learning which characterized Dr. Kohler's career as scholar, teacher, preacher, and administrator.

In his student days, when Dr. Kohler lived in Berlin, he found Jewish life there to be "frosty and uncongenial."<sup>1</sup> Under the circumstances, it was natural that he should have turned to the home of Dr. Joseph Aub, who, like himself, had come to the great northern metropolis from his native Bavaria. Though they were distantly connected, Dr. Kohler's uncle having married a cousin of Dr. Aub, Kohler complained that Aub "never made me feel at home in his house."<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the

<sup>1</sup> See Kaufmann Kohler, *Studies, Addresses and Personal Papers* (New York, 1931), p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

then "frosty and uncongenial" atmosphere of Berlin was not very friendly to Dr. Aub himself. His Bavarian accent and other considerations contributed to the fact that "he was no success in the pulpit" of Berlin. Dr. Aub thought that he had come there to pave the way for Dr. Abraham Geiger; in his witty way, Aub told Kohler, "I have been called hither as the Moshiach ben Joseph to prepare the way for Dr. Geiger, the real Moshiach."

Almost as a matter of course, Kohler, the young Bavarian student, presented himself to the Bavarian Rabbi Aub for examination with a view to qualifying for a career in the rabbinate. When Kohler left Berlin, in 1869, he carried with him the *semikah*, the rabbinical diploma, which he had obtained that year from Dr. Aub. The eminent Berlin rabbi was well-satisfied, as the document testifies, with the results of the examination to which he had subjected his Bavarian coreligionist. These included satisfactory answers to fourteen ritual questions which had been submitted to Kohler. "These are your first *sheelot*," Dr. Aub is reported to have said, jokingly, to Kohler, "and probably also the last you will have to answer."<sup>3</sup>

Text of the *Semikah* Conferred upon Dr. Kohler  
by Dr. Aub, Eminent Berlin Rabbi

בע"ה

תפארת בחורים כחם, בחורי חמד אשר חפצם לעשות חיל באלהים, ללכת מחיל אל חיל. ויעלו במעלות סלם מצב ארצה וראשו מגיע השמימה. אין זה כי אם בית האלהים, בית אוצר החכמה והמדע והמוסר. והנה מצאתי אחד מאלה הבחי' היקיר והנחמד רבי משלם בן החבר רבי משה קאָהלער מתושבי קהלת פירטה, כי מעת ילדותו עד היום הזה לא מש מתוך אהל התורה, עמל בחכמה

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.



## Facsimile of the Original *Semikah*

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התפלה הזאת נכתבה בידי הרב המהרש"א זצ"ל  
והיא נקראת "התפלה ליום שבת" ונמצאת  
בספר "תפילות הרב המהרש"א" חלק א' עמ' 107  
בדפוס ירושלים תש"ח. וזוהי תפלה  
אשר נכתבה על ידי הרב המהרש"א זצ"ל  
ליום שבת. והיא נקראת "התפלה ליום שבת".  
והיא נמצאת בספר "תפילות הרב המהרש"א"  
חלק א' עמ' 107. וזוהי תפלה אשר  
נכתבה על ידי הרב המהרש"א זצ"ל  
ליום שבת. והיא נקראת "התפלה ליום שבת".  
והיא נמצאת בספר "תפילות הרב המהרש"א"  
חלק א' עמ' 107.



ובדעת בכשרון, ולא רפתה רוחו להשכיל אל קול החכמה, להבין אמרי בינה דברי חכמים וחידתם. דלה תמיד מבאר חפרוה שרים, שרי קדש שרי חיל, החנים לפני משכן העדות למשמרת, שאב מים חיים ממצלות ים התלמוד ואסף בחפניו שאר מדע מלא חפנים, קנה חכמה קנה בינה במקרא ובדברי חכמינו, ויודע בינה לעתים ויראת חטאו קודמת לחכמתו. לדעתו מאוס ברע ובחור בטוב, והיריחו ביראת האלהים לנצר ארחות משפט וצדקה ולהחבק במוסר כל ירף, וריח שמו כלבנון. ועל פיו הבאתיו על אכן כחן לבחנו היש לו יד בתלמוד ופוסקים ומצאתיו שידי רב לו, יודע להשיב דברים נבונים שקל במאזני צדק דבריו ויבין לדעת צחות לדבר ושמחה לי במענה פיו. וזאת לפנינו בישראל ועוד הוא חק בישראל, לעטר את ראשי האנשים הנבונים והמשכילים בתורה ובחכמה. על כן אף אנכי אלוה אלוה בארחותיהם לבלתי מגוע טוב מבעליו ואתן כתר תורה על ראש הבח' ר' משלם קאָהלער לתת כבוד לשמו לתהלה ולתפארת, לקרא את שמו בישראל בשם מורינו רב רבי משלם בן החבר רבי משה ויתר עז, עז התורה, גם הרשאי אתן לו להורות את אחינו בני ישראל את הדרך ילכו בה, אשר אם יבחרו אותו להיות רעה צאן קדושים ולעמד על עבדת הקדש יורה יורה ידין ידין כאחד מכל הרבנים היושבים על כסא הוראה. אמנם בזאת אני בוטח כי כל תמוש יראת ה' אשר בלבנו, ללכת בדרך צדקה ומשפט. להודיע קשט דברי אמת, ויהיה כל פעלו בחסד ובאמת בשלום ובמישור להרבות ולהגדיל תורה בישראל. אז ילך בטח ויהי משכיל בכל דרכיו. דברי יוסף בן מוה"ר שמעון אויב העומד על משמרת הקדש פה בערלין עש"ק כ"ט מנחם תרכ"ט לפ"ק.

# Bernhard Felsenthal's Letters to Osias Schorr

EZRA SPICEHANDLER AND THEODORE WIENER

AMONG the many interesting items in the Felsenthal Collection of the American Jewish Historical Society is the correspondence between Bernhard Felsenthal (1822-1908), the German-born Chicago Reform Rabbi, and Osias Schorr (1814?-1895), the great Galician Jewish scholar.<sup>1</sup> The correspondence was evidently initiated by Felsenthal<sup>2</sup> in 1875 and continued intermittently until 1890. It consists of thirty letters, twenty-two by Schorr<sup>3</sup> and eight by Felsenthal.<sup>4</sup> We must also note that Felsenthal did not preserve all his correspondence with Schorr. For example, on the margin of a letter from Schorr dated May 8, 1890, he merely noted in German that the above letter had been answered on June 19, 1890.<sup>5</sup> We present herewith, in an

Dr. Ezra Spicehandler is Associate Professor of Hebrew Literature at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

Rabbi Theodore Wiener is in charge of acquiring and cataloging Hebrew books at the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati.

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis of the significance of the Felsenthal collection, see Adolf Kober, "Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in America as Reflected in the Felsenthal Collection," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLV (1955), 93-127. The problem of the exact date of Schorr's birth is discussed in letter G, note 52. In 1897 Felsenthal sent a copy of his correspondence to Nehemiah S. Libowitz, who planned to write a book on Schorr. This set is now in the possession of the Jewish section of the New York Public Library.

<sup>2</sup> The first letter in the present collection is by Schorr, but he refers to a previous letter which was sent by Felsenthal and which dealt with Schorr's article on the derivation of the names of rabbis, *Hechalutz* IX (1873), Part I, 1-83.

<sup>3</sup> The Schorr letters, in Hebrew, are in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVIII (1957), cited hereafter as *HUCA*.

<sup>4</sup> Not 7 as Kober implies.

<sup>5</sup> See also Manuscript No. 29 and the Schorr letters in *HUCA*, XXVIII. Schorr in his correspondence alludes to the following letters which are lost: August 11,

English translation, the major portions of Felsenthal's eight letters to Schorr.

Osiat (Joshua Heschel) Schorr, a leading figure in the second generation of the Galician *Haskalah*,<sup>6</sup> was associated with distinguished Jewish scholars like Isaac Erter, Samuel David Luzzatto, Abraham Geiger, Nachman Krochmal, Leopold Zunz, Marcus Jost, and Moritz Steinschneider. He was the editor of a radical Reformist Hebrew annual, *Hechalutz*, which appeared irregularly from 1851 to 1888. Among the contributors to the early volumes of *Hechalutz* were Abraham Geiger, Isaac Erter, Moritz Steinschneider, and Nachman Krochmal's son, Abraham. The Reformist ideas of these early volumes influenced many Eastern European *maskilim* and had a decided effect upon the religious views of men like Moses Loeb Lilienblum and Judah Loeb Gordon.

The fact that *Hechalutz* was circulated in the United States among a number of leading Reform rabbis is most significant. Eastern European Reformist ideas had a share in the shaping of American Reform Judaism, and *Hechalutz* was one of the many links with the Eastern European Reformism. Felsenthal acted as Schorr's distributor in the United States. We know that Samuel Adler, Benjamin Szold, and Kaufmann Kohler subscribed to *Hechalutz*, as did a number of other rabbis.<sup>6a</sup>

1875; May 15, 1878; November 17, 1878; Purim 1880 and 18 Adar, 1880; February 14, 1884; April 22, 1884; September 8, 1886; and September 11, 1887.

<sup>6</sup> See Joseph Klausner, *Hahistoria Shel Hasifrut Haivrit Hahadasha* (2nd ed.; Tel Aviv, 1953), IV, 56-57.

<sup>6a</sup> A list of rabbis in Felsenthal's hand appears on the bottom of a postal card which Schorr sent to him on August 20, 1879. In all likelihood, it is a list of actual or potential subscribers to *Hechalutz*, since Schorr specifically requests that Felsenthal inform him as to the number of copies of Volume XI which he requires. The names listed are:

Sonneschein [Solomon; see note 39], Gersoni [Henry (1844-1897), *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 641], Adler [Liebmann; see note 41], Eliassof [Herman (1849-1918), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 69], Felsenthal [Bernhard], Spitz [Moritz; see

Adolf Kober has published the most interesting excerpts of one of the Felsenthal letters (Letter E) in the original German.<sup>7</sup> Kober's transcription, however, contains a few errors, which for the most part may be attributed to Felsenthal's unclear German hand. Felsenthal's comments on the American Jewish scene and his evaluation of his colleagues give us a picture of the contemporary rabbinic world.

Much of the correspondence discusses the problem as to whether male proselytes should be circumcised. This was a major problem then confronting the American rabbinate. At the Philadelphia Conference of Reform rabbis in 1869, a lengthy debate ensued on this subject. Isaac M. Wise and Samuel Hirsch took the radical position that circumcision was not required, while Kaufmann Kohler and David Einhorn upheld a more traditional point of view. No final decision was made. Although Felsenthal participated in the Philadelphia Conference, his opinion on this subject is not recorded.<sup>8</sup> In 1878, however, Felsenthal was deeply engaged with this problem. Contending that circumcision of proselytes was not required, he wrote a pamphlet and three articles on the subject.<sup>9</sup> He sent the pamphlet to Schorr, and an exchange of letters on circumcision followed. Schorr published one of his letters to

note 40], J.[ames] K.[oppel] Gutheim [(1817-1886), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 134], Hahn [Aaron, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 118], Hirsch [Samuel; see note 32], Jastrow [Marcus; see note 33], Szold [Benjamin; see note 26], Hübsch [Adolph; see note 23], Gottheil [Gustav; see note 30], S.[amuel] Adler [see note 22], [Max] Schlesinger [of Albany], Mayer [Lippman (1841-1904), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 424] (of Pittsburgh), Morais [Sabato (1823-1897), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, 638], A.[bram] S.[amuel] Isaacs [(1852-1920), *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, 595].

<sup>7</sup> Kober, 123-26.

<sup>8</sup> *Protokolle der Rabbiner Conferenz abgehalten zu Philadelphia* (New York, 1870), pp. 39-41, 61-63.

<sup>9</sup> See the bibliography in Emma Felsenthal, *Bernhard Felsenthal, Teacher in Israel* (New York, 1924), pp. 310-11.

Felsenthal as an article in *Hechalutz* (XI [1880], 67-74). At the second meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in Baltimore (1891),<sup>10</sup> this question was again discussed in great detail. A long paper by Felsenthal was included in the minutes of the Conference.<sup>11</sup>

In presenting the Felsenthal-Schorr correspondence we have omitted one letter, the last (dated June 6, 1887), because it has no historical significance. We have also taken the liberty of deleting or abridging many of the parallelisms and euphuisms of the flowing *Haskalah* Hebrew. These appear today to be equally outlandish in English and in Hebrew. We express our deep thanks to the American Jewish Historical Society, particularly Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer, for the many courtesies extended to us and for releasing these letters for publication.

#### LETTER A

(Hebrew)

With God's help, Monday, 20 Elul, 5635, according to the Jewish Calendar.

Here in Chicago, September 20, 1875.

Salutations<sup>12</sup>

Believe me when I say that for many years my ears have been opened to hear the words of wisdom and understanding which you have published. As an unabashed disciple, I declare publicly that your words are *torah* and I needs must study them. I earnestly pray that you will continue to publish your great and

<sup>10</sup> *Central Conference of American Rabbis Year Book*, II (1892), 66-128.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-95.

<sup>12</sup> This word will henceforth signify the deletion of the lengthy, euphuistic greetings which opened the Hebrew letters of the period.

important works of scholarship which are spiritually delighting. May He who dwells on high lengthen your days and fill them with goodness and well-being, and may He strengthen your hands so that you may guard the vineyard of Jewish knowledge, plow it, stone it, plant it with good grapes and cause them to ripen therein, as Scripture says: "And He shall renew thy youth as an eagle." May you broaden Jewish scholarship and deepen the knowledge of the Torah so that the glory of Jeshurun be made great and mighty in the eyes of our people.

I was not aware, sir, that the scholar Kirchheim had published a criticism of your article in *Hechalutz* concerning Talmudic names.<sup>13</sup> Where does it appear? I was likewise unaware until now that you had published a supplement to Vol. IX as a part of *Hechalutz*. Please do not withhold this supplement from me. . . .<sup>14</sup>

You have informed me that you are busy at present composing the articles intended for the tenth volume.<sup>15</sup> What good news! I hope that we shall soon rejoice at the sight of these new articles by the wise *chalutz* [pioneer]<sup>16</sup> to whom no contemporary scholar in Israel is equal. Indeed, who can be compared to him and who can penetrate so profoundly the depths of the Talmud and make its hidden and difficult passages so clear? Who is like unto him, who knows how to remove the false and mendacious mask from the face of flatterers and to reveal to the lovers of true wisdom how mean and despicable is the proffered wisdom of those whom the unenlightened and the

<sup>13</sup> Schorr's article appeared in *Hechalutz* IX (1873), Part I, 1-83, and was reviewed by Raphael Kirchheim (1804-1889), the German Jewish scholar, in *Hashachar*, V (1874), 104-109. For biographical data on Kirchheim, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, X, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Further entreaties are deleted.

<sup>15</sup> The reference is to *Hechalutz*.

<sup>16</sup> I. e., Schorr.

uneducated consider to be scholars. Who can bring glory to himself by proclaiming bravely within the camp of Israel: "My people, your trusted ones mislead you, and your pious men destroy your paths and cause you to stumble"?

Before concluding, may I ask one more favor of you, honored sir, namely, please send the undersigned without delay whatever books you shall henceforth publish, via the post. I shall not, of course, delay paying you for them by postal check or in some other manner.

I am your servant, who admires and honors you for your great merit and who beseeches the Almighty to inscribe you in the book of good life. . . .

## LETTER B

(Hebrew)

Chicago, 26 February, 1878.

Greetings to you and to all in your company, honored sir.

May the work of your hands be blessed with success. You delighted me with your dear letter of February 5th, which reached me today. I therefore shall not delay my answer even one day, but thank you for the mark of honor which your letter signifies. I was especially happy when I read your lines and learned that the small brochure which I sent you (small in size and in quality)<sup>27</sup> found favor in your eyes. And now, sir, if you say at the opening of the letter which you sent me, "I shall not deny that you have not told me anything new," be assured that I was aware of this fact even before sending my article to you.

Who am I to pretend that I am able to say anything new in Jewish scholarship to a personage as important and as exalted

<sup>27</sup> The brochure to which Felsenthal refers is *Zur Proselytenfrage im Judenthum* (Chicago, 1878).



as yourself? Indeed, for many years I have well known that the author of *Hechalutz* (may the Lord preserve and lengthen his days and prosper his ways) is in our time the greatest of giants, a veritable Sinai and uprooter of mountains. The light of his honor shines as the brightness of the firmament, reveals the hidden treasures of the sages (may their memories be blessed), and casts light on the dark places in the *Talmudim* [traditional expositions of Jewish civil and religious laws] and *Midrashim* [traditional homiletical exegesis of the Bible]. Behold, I stand before you as a disciple who drinks in your words thirstily. But God forbid that I should ever presume to be able to teach you. If I sent you a copy of my article immediately after it came off the press, I did so, not as a teacher who reveals new facts to you, but rather as a pupil who wishes to show his teacher how honored and exalted he is in his eyes.

I read your comments on my article over and over again, and I am grateful to you with all my soul for correcting, out of the goodness of your heart, a number of errors and for filling in certain omissions in my small brochure. I quoted the *baraita* concerning "A proselyte who was circumcised but not immersed etc.," as I found it in our Talmud (*Yevamoth* 46). I confess unabashedly that I was unaware until now of the fact that the version in the Babylonian Talmud is corrupt, and that the correct version appears in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Kiddushin*. I also confess that the other corrections which you made are right and correct. And now I have one request to make of you, and I pray you not to refuse it, namely, study my article which I published not long ago and, in the eleventh volume of *Hechalutz*, render a just opinion as to its value. Correct whatever is distorted in my brochure. Fill in the omissions and straighten it out as you see fit, for at least the subject about which I spoke is of utmost importance. Let there be criticism; whatever you say critically, whether in chastisement or in mercy, shall be for me

words of pleasure and delight. All your readers will rejoice in them as one rejoices over a great find.

About two weeks ago I sent Professor Graetz in Breslau a short note on my article so that he might print the note in his journal.<sup>18</sup> I must admit that Graetz does not find favor in my eyes because he seems to prefer to accept the impossible and reject the possible. He inclines to distort what is straight and never ceases heaping distorted conjectures pile upon pile, conjectures which flounder wildly in the air and have no basis whatever. Nevertheless, what could I do? I wanted to place before the European scholars the problem of accepting proselytes into Judaism, and where can one do that? Geiger is no more. Löw is no more. There is hardly a single straightforward man among all the rabbis of Germany who has no particular ax to grind. Few are the men of attainments, the men of truth. We sorely miss those that are gone! May the Blessed One preserve the lives of those people who still walk the honest paths and mount the heights of truth and righteousness.

And now, I should like to take up another matter. The dear present which you sent to me in October, 1875, namely, *An Answer to the Criticism of Rabbi Kirchheim*,<sup>19</sup> I received, and I immediately wrote to you, dear sir, informing you that the book arrived and offering you my thanks. From your last letter, however, it appears that this letter did not reach you. I regret this very much, and I am saddened by the thought that perhaps the honored gentleman J. H. S.<sup>20</sup> in Brody, who has done me the honor of sending me this book, would suspect me of bad manners and of evilheartedness because I was silent. Please do

<sup>18</sup> *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Krotoschin, 1878), XXVII, 236-40.

<sup>19</sup> The answer is to part II of Vol. IX (1873) of *Hechalutz*.

<sup>20</sup> Joshua Heschel Schorr.

not think so, dear sir. Believe me if I assure you that at that time I hastened to answer your letter and often wondered why I did not hear from you any more, why even a few lines from you no longer reached me. I, on my part, shall willingly approach you at any time and shall not neglect to send you a letter if I have reason to do so.

In your last letter you also informed me that the tenth volume of *Hechalutz* has already been published. This was news to me, and it was pleasant to hear it. Do not delay sending me a copy, sir; I will pay whatever price you specify and shall also distribute copies among my acquaintances, selling them to whoever would wish to bring such delicacies into their home. Please send me six copies, and I shall certainly sell them in my town without too much difficulty. I shall do so with a willing heart. If you wish, send me ten or twelve copies and I will do whatever I can to sell them for you. If you wonder what is the most secure method to send the magazines, I really do not know the proper answer. Perhaps it is best to send them via the post.

Hurry, dear sir, and honor me with your answer and fulfill my desire with reference to my request concerning the new issue of *Hechalutz*. I fondly hope that you will find these words sent by an unimportant man such as myself, who dwells in a distant land on the shore of Lake Michigan in the land of America, acceptable. Indeed, distance does not prevent me from being close to you in ideas and thoughts.

I am your servant, who honors you and is honored  
with your friendship. . . .

This issue\*\* also testifies that you still know how to take up the whip of satire as you did in earlier years, and to lift it up

\*\* Of *Hechalutz*.

against your opponents in such a wonderful way. Who can stand before you when you go forth to the battle of Torah and wisdom, magnificently clad in the garment of the spirit of satire and armed with your sharpened spirit? Who can stand before you when you go forth to tread upon the hypocrites, the pietists, and the unlearned?

*P. S.* You have remarked, sir, that according to the version of the *baraita* in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Kiddushin* III:14, "Rabbi Joshua says: 'Even immersion prevents.' " I do not have a copy of the Jerusalem Talmud and therefore, for the time being, I do not know if I can base my words on those of Rabbi Joshua when I say: "A proselyte who was immersed but was not circumcised is nevertheless a proselyte." Is it true that this basis is now destroyed? But two generations after R. Joshua, Rabbi Judah bar Ilai comes and disputes R. Jose bar Chalafta who said: "We require two things, circumcision and immersion. But he, R. Judah, requires either one or the other." He said, in definite and clearly understood words: "One is sufficient" (*Yevamoth* 46b). And now, if R. Judah has decided and said that one is sufficient, why shall we now say that even according to R. Joshua one is sufficient? Be it as it may, the matter does not depend upon the words of any of the Talmudic sages. If it is good and useful to receive proselytes without placing the sign of the covenant on their flesh, then the enlightened men of our day will propose a new *halachah* [a traditional law] and will carry it out, even if the sages of days gone by have unanimously affirmed: "He cannot be a proselyte unless he is circumcised and immersed."

LETTER C

(German)

Chicago, March 19, 1878.

Mr. O. H. Schorr in Brody.

Dear Sir:

You probably have received my letter addressed to you about three weeks ago. In the meantime, I have written to a number of friends and colleagues in different parts of the Union, asking them whether they would not like to own Volume 10 of *Hechalutz*. So far I have received twelve orders. One of my colleagues, Dr. S. Adler<sup>22</sup> of New York, who owns the first eight volumes of your journal, would like me to order the ninth volume, too. Three other gentlemen requested me to ask you whether *all* earlier volumes of *Hechalutz* were still available, and if so, how much they would cost.

I ask you therefore to send me *very soon* thirteen copies of Volume 10 and one copy of Volume 9 of your *Hechalutz*. I would be only too happy to forward the ordered volumes to these gentlemen, also to collect the money and send it on to you by bill of exchange. I leave it up to you whether you would trust me with three copies each of the earlier volumes for resale. I think they will be sold soon if the price is not too high.

And now permit me, dear sir, to come back once more to the controversy between Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Eliezer with reference to the acceptance of proselytes. Very recently I had the opportunity to examine the relevant passages in Jer[usalem Talmud] Kiddushin (3, 14), also in *Gerim* (1, 6), and to compare them with the *baraita* [non-Mishnaic tannaitic tradition] in

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Adler (1809-1891), rabbi at Temple Emanu-El, New York, father of Felix Adler.

Bab[ylonian Talmud] Yevamoth 46. You, dear sir, make order out of chaos, since you hold the account in the Babylonian Talmud to be completely corrupted and accept the reading of the Jerusalem [Talmud] as the correct one. But according to my humble opinion there are a few objections against this supposition, too. It is plainly apparent, to be sure, that Rabbi Eliezer requires circumcision and *only* circumcision as an indispensable initiatory rite for the proselyte. His utterances referring to this have been handed down to us in three versions:

- a) If he was circumcised but did not immerse himself, then behold he is a proselyte (*Yevamoth* 46a).
- b) A proselyte who was circumcised but did not immerse, he is a proper proselyte (*ibid.*, 71a).
- c) *Jerushalmi Kiddushin* III, 14: A proselyte who was circumcised but was not immersed, or immersed but not circumcised. The law is determined by the fact of circumcision.

The only dissonance in this account is the passage in Babylonian *Yevamoth* 46b:

In the case that he was immersed but not circumcised, Rabbi Eliezer does not challenge the fact that the conversion is not valid.

How the editor could make such a remark, or what he thought about it, I cannot understand.

Now let us return to Rabbi Joshua. In Babylonian *Yevamoth*, the following sentence is ascribed to him: "If he immersed but was not circumcised, behold he is a proselyte." According to the explanation of the *Gemara* [traditional exposition of the Mishna] there, he regards immersion as definitely necessary for the proselyte: "Immersion is indispensable." Now let us compare the *Jerushalmi*: Rabbi Joshua said: "*Even* immersion is indispensable."

The particle "even," however, means that according to Rabbi

Joshua *both* acts, circumcision as well as immersion, are necessary prerequisites for the acceptance of proselytes. But how does Rabbi Joshua differ with the third party to the controversy, the sages, mentioned in Babylonian *Yevamoth*? And did not Rabbi Judah bar Ilai declare himself completely satisfied with either circumcision *or* immersion more than half a century later (*Yevamoth, ibid.*)? Furthermore, we must take into account that Rabbi Joshua was much more easygoing in his practice than the more rigorous Rabbi Eliezer, and often accepted into the [Jewish] community proselytes who had been harshly rejected by Rabbi Eliezer. And how should one assume that he would present harder conditions to the proselyte for his acceptance than Rabbi Eliezer?

All these difficulties could be solved easily if one could assume that there was a corrupted passage in the *Jerushalmi* and one would emend: "Rabbi Joshua said: '*Only* immersion is indispensable.'" That would be in complete harmony with: "Immersion and not circumcision is necessary for the proselyte," and with the still later saying: "One of them would be sufficient," as well as with the otherwise well-known character of Rabbi Joshua.

Of course, the substitution of the word *only* for *even* (or even the meaningless ׀א, which appears in *Massechet Gerim*) would only be a conjectural emendation, and it should first have to be supported by manuscripts or *otherwise*. But could we hope that one might still find somewhere *manuscripts* of the Jerusalem Talmud, except for the well-known one in Leyden? Perhaps, if we are lucky, somewhere in a corner of Asia.

A totally unsuccessful attempt to clear up this matter was made by Jac. Naumburg in his *Nahalat Yaakov* on *Gerim* 1, 6.

Perhaps, dear sir, you will undertake sometime to transmit to the readers of *Hechalutz* the thread of Ariadne, which leads with certainty out of the labyrinthian confusion. . . .

## LETTER D

(Hebrew)

With God's help, Chicago, May 20, 1878, according to the secular calendar.

Greetings, dear sir, and a thousand thanks for the letter which you sent me on April 14th. I am grateful to you for this statement, for it enlightens me very much. I consumed the scroll, and it was as sweet honey to my mouth. Now I wish to present you with certain comments and notes upon your statement. There are many deterrents, however, which are all about me these days. Various duties have been placed on my shoulders and bear heavily upon me; therefore, I am compelled to write briefly today. Nevertheless, I hope that in the near future I will find time to present before you certain comments which I developed as I read your learned article. I have already informed you that I have received nine copies of *Hechalutz*, Vol. 10, not ten copies, and today I wish to urge you to send me without delay another four copies of Volume 10 and also four copies of Vol. 9 via the post, if you have not done so before this postal card reaches you. A number of our country's rabbis have informed me that they have great difficulty in acquiring *Hechalutz* either through a bookstore or direct from you, dear sir. Rabbi Dr. Adler,<sup>22</sup> who at the moment lives in New York City, was formerly a rabbi in the city of Alzey, in the state of Rheinhessen. Even though he erred when he wrote on R. Eleazar the Greater and R. Jose the Minor and Choni Hameaggel (see part 10, page 2), he is, nevertheless, one of the few men in our country who is really well learned in Torah and in the knowledge of Hebrew literature. Among the other learned men are Dr. Hübsch in New York, who was the preacher and the spiritual leader of the people of Prague in years gone by and who pub-



lished in the year 1866 "the five scrolls" [Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther] with the Syrian *Targum* [translation of biblical books] written in Hebrew script.<sup>23</sup> He, too, may be considered as one of the superior men in our country. Dr. Kohler,<sup>24</sup> about whom you ask me, is a preacher in one of the congregations here in Chicago, and he is the author of a brochure on the Blessing of Jacob. (This brochure is full of many conjectures which flounder wildly in the air and have no basis whatsoever.)<sup>25</sup> I have no space left and the hour is late, and therefore shall conclude. God willing, I shall write a long letter to you in the near future. May you receive a blessing as you desire and as I, your servant, who am honored by your friendship, desire. . . .

## LETTER E

(German)

Chicago, July 24, 1878.

Dear Mr. Schorr:

The books announced in your good letter of the 16th of last month, I received about two weeks ago and immediately sent them on. Still I have not collected all the money for them; almost a third is still outstanding. I will, however, no longer delay sending you the amount due you. The prices for 13 copies of *Hechalutz*, X, at Thaler 1.6 gr. (total Thaler 15.18 gr.), and 4 copies of *Hechalutz*, IX, at Thaler 1.22 gr. (total Thaler 7), add up to Thaler 22.18 gr. or about 68 Mark. I am sending

<sup>23</sup> Adolph Hübsch (1830-1884). The title of his book is *Die fünf Megilloth nebst dem Syrischen Targum etc.* (Prague, 1866).

<sup>24</sup> Kaufmann Kohler (1843-1926).

<sup>25</sup> *Der Segen Jacobs*, etc. (Berlin, 1867).

you 75 Mark in order to reimburse you for postage, etc. I was unable and unwilling to charge more than \$1 for *Hechalutz*, X, and \$1.50 for *Hechalutz*, IX.

Now, please send "[the] Rev. Dr. B. Szold, Baltimore, Md."<sup>26</sup> who received *Hechalutz*, IX and X, through me, the earlier volumes of *Hechalutz* (up to and including Vol. 8), or as many as you have on hand. Mr. Szold wrote me repeatedly about it. I would suggest to you to convey the books *directly* to Mr. Sz., who is an absolutely trustworthy man, and he will certainly let you have the amount owed without hesitation. Through this direct delivery, unnecessary effort and postage will be saved. Should you wish that I collect the money for you, I would be happy to do this, too.

In one of your worthy letters you expressed the wish to learn something about local Jewish conditions from me. As far as religious life is concerned, the ceremonial practice of our forefathers has fallen into oblivion completely, especially among the younger generation. You meet thousands of young men and women who grew up in this country, who do not know what *tefillin* [phylacteries], *tzitzit* [the fringes of the prayer shawl], *trefut* [ritually forbidden food], *shehitah* [ritual slaughtering of animals], and the like are, and to whom these matters are as strange as the customs of the Mohammedans or the Parsees. Even those who immigrated at an advanced age soon break with the "yoke of the commandments," and those coming from Polish lands, some of whom try to hold on to the *Shulchan Aruch* [ritual and legal code of Rabbinic Judaism, dating from the sixteenth century C. E.] in practice, are without any influence because they completely lack general education. They pass on without leaving a trace. Insofar as Jewish life manifests itself before the world in temples and synagogues, it is, as you may

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Szold (1829-1902), rabbi at Oheb Shalom Congregation, Baltimore, father of Henrietta Szold.

well imagine, decidedly reformist. One knows nothing any more about *Kohanim* [priests] and their privileges. Men sit together with their wives and children in the synagogue, and with uncovered heads. The new prayer books have eliminated everything referring to sacrifices, Messiah, resurrection, and the ingathering of the exiles. A large portion of the prayers is recited in either German or English (depending on the circumstances of the individual congregation), etc., etc. In wedding ceremonies, also, Reform has spoken its deciding word. Of the five or six different new prayer books that have appeared in our country, those edited by Einhorn and Jastrow are the best. The latter is more traditional in its form; the former (Einhorn's) has broken decisively with tradition, both in its external make-up and because it is predominantly German.

It cannot be denied that Reform has called forth a spirit which may be very destructive to American Israel, if it is not opposed consciously. I am not speaking about the efforts of a small but active party which wants to move the Sabbath to Sunday and the like. (As a calm and objective observer of the dominant trends, I foresee that after a few decades it will come to this point, for the Sabbath has been completely lost to our American contemporaries, absorbed as they are in business, and it is hardly to be hoped that one can reconquer it.) But I am afraid that mixed marriages also will increase, that the resultant progeny will be lost to us and will be absorbed as single atoms by the Christians sects. For in the intellectual world, too, the physical law applies, that larger bodies exert a stronger attraction than smaller ones. Just because of higher conservative considerations (conservative not in the sense that one keeps up individual old customs and usages, but that one tries to maintain the House of Israel in its integrity) — just because of higher conservative considerations, it is imperative to be "lenient" in the acceptance of proselytes in the way I

have suggested, or to be ready to officiate at mixed marriages, if the bridal couple promise to raise their children in the religion of Judaism. These two measures should present themselves soon as compelling to every thinking observer of the life flowing about us.

Scientific accomplishment in the field of Judaism can hardly be expected from America at this time. There is no lack of textbooks (catechisms, Biblical histories, and the like). But I am speaking about truly valuable literary achievements originating on American soil. Dr. Einhorn,<sup>27</sup> who officiated in a Jewish Reform congregation in [Buda] Pesth [Hungary] at the beginning of the fifties, and who has been in America since 1855, and for the last ten years with a congregation in New York, stands out because of his homiletic achievements. His sermons, which unfortunately have not been collected, but are scattered in pamphlets and in magazines, breathe Isaianic fire and are of truly gripping force. E. is not a preacher of nonsense. Beside Einhorn, Adler<sup>28</sup> and Hübsch<sup>29</sup> are in New York; about them I wrote you earlier already; furthermore, Gottheil,<sup>30</sup> former assistant to Holdheim<sup>31</sup> in Berlin and later in Manchester, England; furthermore, a few younger people, unknown in wider circles, and a few old ones — ignoramuses. Dr. S. Hirsch, formerly of Luxemburg, officiates in Philadelphia. It is he who published nearly forty years ago a huge volume about the religious philosophy of Judaism;<sup>32</sup> furthermore, Jastrow,<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> David Einhorn (1809–1879), rabbi in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York.

<sup>28</sup> See Note 22 above.

<sup>29</sup> See Note 23.

<sup>30</sup> Gustav Gottheil (1827–1903).

<sup>31</sup> Samuel Holdheim (1806–1860), rabbi of the Reform congregation in Berlin.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Hirsch (1815–1889), father of Emil G. Hirsch. The title of the book is *Die Religionsphilosophie der Juden, etc.* (Leipzig, 1842).

<sup>33</sup> Marcus Jastrow (1829–1903).

once a preacher in Warsaw, then in Worms and Mannheim; and, finally, an Italian, S. Morais,<sup>34</sup> at the Portuguese congregation. If we go on to Baltimore, we could mention Szold, a good man, not without theological knowledge.<sup>35</sup> In Boston, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, and other places the congregations are led by men who in part are quite honorable and well-meaning,<sup>36</sup> but in part must be described as absolute zeros. Many younger preachers and rabbis will work themselves up to a glorious reputation, I hope. In Cincinnati lives and officiates Lilienthal<sup>37</sup> (the Munich cataloguer, mentioned so often by Zunz and Steinschneider), who in the beginning of the forties played an important role in Russia and was driven from there to America; furthermore, Wise (Weiss,<sup>38</sup> born in Bohemia), in America since 1845 [1846]. The latter is uncommonly fond of writing. For twenty-five years he has published a weekly (*The Israelite*) and has published other things in English, especially about New Testament history. Unfortunately, the man has no ideas of sound criticism. Among other things, he has had the curious idea that Elisha ben Abuya was identical with Paul. As ridiculous as this hypothesis is, Wise holds fast to it and reverts to it all the time. I might also mention Dr. Sonneschein<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Sabato Morais (1823-1897), one of the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

<sup>35</sup> "... nicht ohne theologische Kenntnisse..." Kober, *op. cit.*, p. 125, has "der ohne theologische Kenntnisse ist." I believe that our copy (American Jewish Historical Society) of the manuscript is more accurate, thus obviating Note 89 in Kober.

<sup>36</sup> "... die teilweise *recht* ehrbar und wohlmeinend sind." Kober, p. 125, has "nicht ehrbar und wohlmeinend," obviously misleading.

<sup>37</sup> Max Lilienthal (1815-1882); his bibliographical notes on the manuscript in the Munich library, published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, had been severely criticized by Zunz and Steinschneider.

<sup>38</sup> Isaac Mayer Wise (1819-1900).

<sup>39</sup> Solomon H. Sonneschein (1839-1908). Kober, p. 126, has "Buchheim," a

in St. Louis, editor of the *Deborah*, a German supplement to *The Israelite*. This Mr. S. came over from Prague, where he was preacher of a local congregation for a time. Spitz<sup>40</sup> in Milwaukee, about whom you asked me, came to America from Hungary as a young man ten or twelve years ago.

Here in Chicago, L.[iebmann] Adler<sup>41</sup> officiates. He is a dear old colleague with good theological and sound, clear judgment; furthermore, Kohler,<sup>42</sup> a veritable stormer of heaven, who came into our cisatlantic world from the university in 1869. You know his *Blessing of Jacob*. A few weeks ago he published *The Song of Songs, a New Translation with Commentary*, a brochure of twenty-eight pages, very remarkable because of its daring textual corrections, completely arbitrarily taken out of the air. K. puts A. Krochmal,<sup>43</sup> Hitzig,<sup>44</sup> Schrader,<sup>45</sup> etc., in the deepest shade. He outdoes them all. Perhaps I shall succeed in getting a copy for you.

The American rabbis have in part very good positions and enjoy in part very fat perquisites. Others live in more straitened circumstances. To the latter class the writer of these lines belongs. I can truly say that I am frugal and contented, and my heart does not crave riches. But I am very sorry that I have to restrict myself in my literary inclinations to an extraordinary extent and can acquaint myself with the literary products of

mistake in reading, as there was no Rabbi Buchheim in St. Louis, as far as we know, and Sonneschein was the editor of the *Deborah*.

<sup>40</sup> Moritz Spitz (1848-1920), later rabbi in St. Louis.

<sup>41</sup> Liebmann Adler (1812-1892).

<sup>42</sup> See Note 8 above. The books referred to are *Der Segen Jacobs*, etc. (Berlin, 1867) and *Das Hohe Lied*, etc. (New York, 1878).

<sup>43</sup> Abraham Krochmal (1823-1888), a modern Hebrew writer, the son of Nachman Krochmal.

<sup>44</sup> Ferdinand Hitzig (1807-1875), a German Protestant Bible scholar.

<sup>45</sup> Eberhard Schrader (1836-1908), a German Semitic scholar.

the present time only very sparingly. But I try to help myself as best I can.

Now let me say another word about your highly interesting article which you sent me about the attitude of the *tannaim* [mishnaic sages], Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua, on the question of the acceptance of proselytes. I cannot — I do not wish to oppose you, the master, with my insignificant remarks. What I would have to say would be nothing more than pedantry. But I do not want to conceal the general impression which the reading of your excellent article made on me. You have made a highly ingenious discovery, and you carry on highly ingenious researches in detail. But since Rabbi Eliezer is known to us as an enemy of the idolators, Rabbi Joshua, however, as a much more tolerant and a milder personality, could it be psychologically justified and assumed that Rabbi Eliezer should have been more lenient in the acceptance of proselytes than Rabbi Joshua?

I hope, by the way, that your article will be presented to the world of learning completed and supplemented in the eleventh volume of *Hechalutz*. (For you write in your last letter that you could add a good deal.)

And when (as I hope, very soon) *Hechalutz* XI will have appeared, would you not take care that your friends hear something about it by announcements to bookdealers or otherwise that a new issue has appeared? If I had not sent you a copy of my brochure as a sign of respect last January, I might not know even now that a tenth volume of your work is already printed.

I would like to have your permission to translate your article, mentioned above, and to publish it in an American journal in which such an article would be welcome and appropriate. Only the most meaningless twaddle and the most vulgar gossip are published in our Jewish papers. And I hardly believe that any

editor would have been ready to offer space to an article in his journal which would be completely unenjoyable for the bulk of his readers.

I still must allow myself a few remarks about *Hechalutz* X. It is already a few months since I have read this volume, and at that time I noted on a small piece of paper something that struck me. Now I can not find this piece of paper and, as I take up the book again, I can discover only very little, by cursory examination, against which I have any objections to raise. Only your rare learning, your incisive critique, your new, nearly always correct enrichments of Jewish science and discovery in its field are worthy of the fullest recognition.

In your article "Balaam, the Evil One, and His Disciples" it seems to me that you carry the idea to the extreme that behind the numerical values of the names Balaam, Doeg, Ahithophel, other names have been hidden intentionally from the beginning.<sup>46</sup> When I read this, I remembered how Rappoport,<sup>47</sup> because of his "*gematriot*" [cryptographs, usually dealing with numerical values of words], eliminated the name of Rabbi Eleazar Ha-Kallir from nearly all his *piyyutim* [liturgical poems], and how he experienced bitter criticism for it from Eliakim Mehlsack<sup>48</sup> in his *Sefer Rabiya*. It is true, already in Jesus' time the play with *gematriot* and the like was known, and you are right in your astonishment (p. 95) that Geiger denied this. The Bible already knows something similar! Jeremiah, by the application of ש"נ ב"א,<sup>49</sup> hides, as is well known, the name Babel

<sup>46</sup> *Hechalutz* X (1877), 32-46. According to Schorr, *Balaam* means Jesus; *Doeg*, Peter; *Ahithophel*, James; and *Gehazi*, Paul.

<sup>47</sup> Solomon Judah Löb Rappoport (1790-1867), a *Haskalah* scholar.

<sup>48</sup> Eliakim Mehlsack (A. G. Samiler) (1780-1854), a Russian Talmudist.

<sup>49</sup> A cryptographic system by which the first letter of the alphabet is replaced by the last, and vice versa; the second by the next to the last, and vice versa, etc. In this way the words "Babel" and "Kasdim" are substituted by "Sheshach" and "Leb-Kamai," respectively, in Jeremiah 25:26; 51:1; and 51:41.



behind the name Sheshach and the name Kasdim behind the name Leb-Kamai. But it is hardly likely that already in Talmudic times childish tricks going to such extremes would have been performed as in the Middle Ages when, to cite only one example among hundreds, one discovered by subtle analysis that Ben Sirach had the same numerical value as Jeremiah, the name of his supposed father and grandfather (Maharil, beginning of his *Likkutim*, and in other places).

After you (p. 101) give the undoubtedly correct explanation of the well-known proverbial application of the name "Shelumiel" from Sanhedrin 82b, you quote another explanation given by Löw for this popular epithet which has become proverbial. Against this the following objections may be raised. In the first place, Löw does not say that the *Schlemihl* [fool] in the time of Meir of Rothenburg was called "Shelumiel." He quotes (*Lebensalter*, p. 376, note 58) Responsum No. 25 to the *Hilchoth Ishuth* of Maimonides, but if one checks the source, one finds that the husband's name was Isaac. In the second place, Löw says in reference to Maharil that Shelumiel lived in Enns in the fourteenth century. Löw erred. The man he really means was called Solomon; "Shelumiel" does not occur as a proper name in post-Biblical times. The source which Löw uses is found in a Maharil edition accessible to me, Frankfort, 1687, p. 61b (in *Hilchoth Yom Tov*), and there it says: "Rabbi Shlomel from the city of Enns went once, etc.," that is, Rabbi Shalom from Austria, a teacher of Maharil, and so Maharil attests. The name "Shlomel" is, however, not identical with Shelumiel, but is the old Shelomoh with the usual German diminutive ending *-el*, as one finds such formation of names countless times, but especially frequently with Maharil, for instance, Hershel, Berel, Leibel, Hirschel, etc. Repeatedly Shlomel is also found in Maharil, ed. Frankfort, 158b (in *Hilchoth Purim*), also Moshel (derived from Moshe), *ibid.*, last page, etc.

Thirdly, Löw claims to have discovered a man by the name of Shelumiel, who lived in Safed in the seventeenth century. But if one checks more carefully, this man also was called Shlomel, from Shelomoh. If I am not mistaken, this man is first mentioned in Delmedigo's *Mazref Lehochmah*. This book is not available to me. But Hayyim Joseph David Azulai quotes it in *Shem Hagedolim* (ed. Wilna), II, 4, in No. 57, and Azulai writes "Shlomoh Shlimel." Furthermore, Leon Modena, in the *Ari Nohem*, p. 8 (ed. Fürst, Leipzig, 1840), draws upon this same source uncovered by Delmedigo. If he has the reading Shelumiel, the reason for it may be seen apparently in the fact that the Italian did not understand the German form of the name Shlomel or Shlimel and corrected it wrongly into Shelumiel. . . .

## LETTER F

(Hebrew)

Chicago, December 2, 1878.

To the great scholar whose name is renowned in all the ends of the earth, my teacher and master, J. H. S.,<sup>25</sup> peace and blessings.

Your dear letter dated the 13th of last month reached me today, and immediately it came to my hand I hurried and wrote to Rabbi B. Szold,<sup>26</sup> who dwells in B., informing him that the letter which he sent to you, dear sir, and the postal check which was enclosed in it, as well as the books which he sent you via the post, were not delivered to you nor seen by you, and that, therefore, he should be good enough to send you without delay a duplicate check, etc., etc. This was the content of my letter to the aforementioned Rabbi S., which I wrote and mailed this day. He will undoubtedly rush to do what

I advised and requested. Rabbi S. is an honorable man, and I am sure that he sent the price of [the copies of] *Hechalutz* to you. Perhaps this letter and the books were lost en route, or perhaps. . . . Certainly they were lost, and the sender is innocent of any ugly or despicable act. We must not even suspect him. I am sure that in a few days you will receive another letter from the aforementioned rabbi, and everything will be set aright. This year's calendar, which you received from New York, was mailed to you by the publisher on my order. My article<sup>50</sup> which appears in it is full of corruptions and printer's errors. Do not blame me for this, for I was unable to correct these errors since the publisher did not send me the page proofs in time.

Recently I received the November issue of Graetz's monthly [*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*], and I found in it an article by one of the American rabbis, Rabbi S. Adler.<sup>52</sup> In this article the aforementioned rabbi presents us with a new explanation of the words *mimochorat hashabat* (Leviticus 23:11).<sup>51</sup> The following is Rabbi Samuel Adler's opinion: The commandment to bring the *omer* [sheaf] was a separate commandment and was not at all connected with the Passover holiday. Whoever believes that this commandment was connected with Passover is mistaken. The real explanation is as follows: After the barley was ready to be reaped, whenever it happened, at that point the harvest time (*mimochorat hashabat*) began — that is to say, the first day of labor. Throughout the country, at the beginning of the harvest, the children of Israel brought the first *omer* of the harvest to the priest, etc. Fifty days after the bringing of the *omer* they would celebrate the holiday

<sup>50</sup> We are unable to locate this article.

<sup>51</sup> "Pharisäismus und Sadducäismus und ihre differierende Auslegung des *mochorat hashabat*," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XXVII (1878), 522-28.

of Shovuoth [Pentecost]. This is the explanation of Rabbi Samuel Adler. So far I have read the first part of his article only, which shall be continued in the following issues. What is your opinion, sir, of this explanation? According to my humble judgment, one might plausibly accept this opinion or at least test it and separate the truth in it from those portions which are unsubstantiated.

Above, I designated this interpretation as a "new explanation," but after further examination I find that it is not a new explanation at all. One of the early Karaites whose name is Bachtan presented this interpretation concerning the time of the harvest to his contemporaries, namely, that if it be reaped before the Passover they should count the days from that point. His words are quoted in the *Sefer Heasor* of Rabbi Jacob ben Reuben, the Karaite, and also in the *Otzar Nechmad* of Rabbi Jeshuah according to the testimony of the author of the *Aderet* (see the *Likkute Kadmoniot* of Rabbi Solomon Pinsker, Appendix, p. 85). Perhaps even Rabbi Abraham ben Ezra is inclined to this opinion and believes it to be the correct one when he alludes to the "secret," according to his well-known manner. These are his words in his comment on Leviticus 23:11: "Behold, I will tell you a secret, that all the holidays depend upon a specific day of the month, and because of the *Sefirah* [counting], which is a commandment, no fixed day for Shovuoth was stated." Thus far his words.

I do not know whether another of our sages has interpreted the above-mentioned verses in this manner and not according to the *halachah*.

My words are many. Forgive me, sir, for having written so much. I am your servant, who honors you with all my heart and soul. . . .

LETTER G

(Hebrew)

Chicago, 10 September, 1879.

Salutations:<sup>12</sup>

For some time I have been meaning to write to you and to inquire as to your health. I was prevented from doing so by the thought that I should not disturb the great scholar J. H. S. with my superfluous words and my meager gifts. I resolved, nevertheless, that when the New Year arrived I would greet, as my custom has been for many years, my famous and scholarly friend who lives in Brody, and would then inform him that I pray for him to the Dweller on High and wish him a happy, successful, and prosperous New Year. May he enjoy long years of health and peace. Amen.

And now that the New Year is approaching, I fulfill my resolution. I greet you from the bottom of my heart. Let this greeting be a sign of my deep love toward you, a love which is disinterested and which is as strong as it always has been and always shall be. . . .

Not only do I greet you at the approach of the New Year, but I do so for another reason. . . . I have discovered that you will shortly reach your sixty-third year. My source is the great Catalogue of the Bodleian Library of Oxford, edited by the scholar Moses [Moritz] Steinschneider.<sup>52</sup> There I read that you were born on the 8th of Tishri, 5677, according to the Jewish calendar, or September 30, 1816, according to the Gentile count. On the occasion of your birthday I express my thoughts to you, O king who rules over all the great scholars of Israel.

<sup>52</sup> *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 2573/7146. Scholars disagree as to the date of Schorr's birth. For a discussion of the problem see Spicehandler's article on Schorr, *HUCA*, XXVIII, note 2 to letter 16.

Would that God grant you to see this day many times, and that as you grow old your mind shall grow even more lucid and stronger to increase the glory and the might of Israel's wisdom.

You have informed me, dear friend, that Volume XI of *Hechalutz* is at the printer's and will soon appear. I yearn to drink of your wisdom, for whatever you write is useful and correct. I thank you very much for offering me a free copy as a token of your esteem.

I believe that I am able to distribute twelve-fifteen copies of Volume XI of *Hechalutz*, and to sell them at this fixed price. Send them to me and I will endeavor to distribute them among men who understand and enjoy them. It is self-understood that I shall hasten to fulfill your wishes willingly and faithfully. . . .

I close this letter with a greeting of peace to him who is distant and is at the same time near, distant in geography but near in thought.

I am honored and proud of your friendship. . . .

# Rabbi Sabato Morais' Report on the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia

MENAHM G. GLENN

THE FOLLOWING is a copy of an original document, a manuscript written by Rabbi Sabato Morais, in the possession of Dropsie College, in Philadelphia. Photostats of the manuscript were supplied to me by the American Jewish Archives in Cincinnati. The report on the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia comprises pages 33 through 37 in a collection of eighty-three pages written by Sabato Morais in an Italian-Sephardi Hebrew script which is rather difficult to read. Many of the papers are Morais' own letterheads from Livorno.

The report is the first authentic history of the Philadelphia Hebrew Education Society. It is presented as if written by Moses Aaron Dropsie, with an addendum by David Sulzberger, but there can be no question that the author was Rabbi Morais. It was written in Hebrew, some time between 1889 and 1892.

In editing the report, I have given a faithful copy of it, and I call attention to the following:

Words letter-spaced and underscored appear in the original manuscript above the written line; words letter-spaced within parentheses appear this way in the original; words within paren-

Dr. Menahem G. Glenn is senior editor on the staff of Maurice Jacobs, Inc., of Philadelphia, the noted Hebrew printing firm, and is a member of the faculty of Gratz College.

theses indicate that the author had them crossed out; a question mark shows that the editor doubts his reading, while words or phrases within brackets are the editor's suggested readings for lacunae. Ellipses indicate missing words or letters; letter-spaced words or phrases indicate that the author had them underlined. Words partially vocalized are reproduced as in the original manuscript.

## קיצור תולדות חברת לימוד שפת עברית ותכליתה ומעשיה

[Page 1] צורך הנתנת ילדי בני ישראל על ידי מורים בקיאים והגונים הן בלימודים בכלל הן בלימוד לשון עברי בפרט, היה דבר נחוץ אשר שמו על לבם מאז אנשי קהלותינו: אמנם מלפנים ידיעת לשון עברי היתה נקבית לרוב על פי מורים הבאים לבתי היחידים לתנך הילדים והתלמידים עצמם לא היו מבינים כי אם מעט מוער בדבר המוטל עליהם ללמד ושכר פעולתם היה גם כן מועט ולא הספיק לפרנסת המורים: בעבור זה הוצרכו המה לעסוק במלאכה אחרת להחיות נפשם ולא יוכלו התלמידים לקנות דעה בלשון עברי ובמצוות התורה כראוי: ומלבד כל האמור עוד תמצאנה חסרונות רבות בספרים אשר יקראו בהם הנערים בבתי הלימוד אשר במדינה אם לצורך הרבים או לצורך היחידים חוברו הספרים ההם, כי קצת מהרעיונות היו מרחיקות את לב הקוראים מתורת משה רבנו ומקריבות אל דת הנוצרים אשר בה האמינו מחבריהם: כן היה ממש מצב הלימוד בקרב עמנו השוכנים פה זה כמו חמשים שנה וכן היה גם כן מצב כל אחינו במדינות האלו הנדבקות יחד: (יונייטיד סטייץ) לבב אנשי ישראל התלונן אז על כי גדלו ילדיהם בלי דעה [דעת] יסוד דת אל וחוקותיה ולשוא בקשו אחינו העברים למצוא תרופה למחלה הרעה הזאת: אולם בזמן ההוא קם איש באנשים להראותנו איך נמצא ארוכה ומרפא, ולאיש ההוא אשר בשם יצחק ליסער נקרא באה ויאה שם מדריך הראשון המנהיג את העם

<sup>1</sup> This is the way Morais spells United States in Hebrew letters. The Hebrew is of peculiar usage. See Note 21, below.



בארחות יושר: באהבה רבה שאינה תלויה (?)<sup>2</sup> בדבר ובנפש חפצה פעל ועשה להרים קרן הדת העברית בקרבנו ולהחזיק ביד המאמינים בה יותר מכל אשר קדמוהו, ואולי יותר גם כן מכל האנשים אשר קמו אחריו: יצחק ליסער התיר קשר אמיץ אשר נתיאשו אחרים להתירו בקידו החברה הנוכרת למעלה, אשר כפי הנראה היתה הראשונה בכל ארצות האלו שהתחילה ללמד לבני יהודה דעת במצוות אלהים חי: החכם ליסער ראה את הנולד מרחוק: כי לא די לו שילמדו נערינו התחלת הלימודים בלבד (רודימנט)<sup>3</sup> אך גמר בדעתו שתצטרף בלימודים ההם דעת הספרות (ליטראטור) והפילוסופיאה וכלימודים החיצונים הנלמדים בבתי מדרשים כפי כללים מוכחרים [= מוכרחים?] ומתוקנים: בשבעה לחדש מארצ לחשבון הנוצרים אתתמ"ז (?)<sup>5</sup> יוסדה [בוסדה] החברה ובשנה האחרת בשבעה לחדש אפריל נתנה לה הסכמה מאת בתי המשפט (ליג'יסליטור) אשר במדינת פינסילוניא: בהסכמה הזאת לא ניתנה בלבד ליסד בית לימוד לחנך הנערים בקטנותם אבל ליסד גם כן בית המדרש גדול ולסמוך את התלמידים להיותם מורי הוראה בישראל: בית הלימוד הראשון לקטנים נפתח בשבעה לחדש אפריל אתתנ"א למספרם ונתקן כדרך וכתכונת כל בתי הלימוד של רבים (פובליק): הספרים וכללי הלימוד הם שוים אלו לאלו ועוד ילמד בינינו לשון הקדש ולשון לאטין וצרפתית ואשכנזית: בשנת אתתנ"ג יהודה צונדו [Judah Touro: see the translation, below] הניח עזבון סך עשרים אלף דולארים בהשתדלות החכם ליסער לסייע לדבר מצוה: המעות האלו נתקבלו בחמשה לחדש פברוארי אתתנ"ד ועל

<sup>2</sup> Wherever a question mark is placed near a word, it indicates that that word is smudged and illegible, and that the reading thereof has been conjectured by the sense of the text.

<sup>3</sup> This phrase is based upon the Mishnaic statement: איזהו חכם הרואה את הנולד (Tamid 32a; cf. Aboth 2:13), "Who is wise? He who can foresee that which will be born (i. e., the result of an act)."

<sup>4</sup> This is the way the text of the document spells the word "rudiments."

<sup>5</sup> The year 1847 (if my reading is correct despite the smudge). It is of interest that Morais uses the Hebrew letters to designate the general date.

<sup>6</sup> The writer of this document uses the word רבים in the sense in which it is used in the Mishnaic and rabbinic phrase רשות הרבים, i. e., "public" or "public place." That is, the word רבים, "many," "majority," is taken to mean "public," hence the phrase בית הלימוד של רבים means a public school.

ידם נקנה הבנין ברחוב השביעית סמוך לרחוב קאלוהיל וביום שמונה  
ועשרים לחדש מאי אתתגד הוכן הבנין להיותו בית לימודים]

[Page 2] בשמונה ועשרים לחדש אוקטובר אתתסז החל הלימוד  
בבית מדרש הנקרא „בית מדרש מיימוני“ לזכרון הרמבם ז"ל: (הלימוד)<sup>8</sup>  
מטרתו היתה להורות לתלמידים בשפה העברית כלה היטב וקצת מן הלשונות  
הדומות אליה, ומשולבות אל המקרא ואל התלמוד תהיינה כל החכמות הנצרכות  
לרבנים בימים הללו: החכם ליסער והחכם יאסטראו והחכם בעטעלהיים ושבתי  
מוראס יקד[י]ש<sup>10</sup> עתם ללמד שם בחנם ופעולתם נתקבלה ברצון לעיני בני  
עמם: אמנם ההוצאות הבאות מחמת הלימוד ופרנסת התלמידים רבו מאשר יוכלו  
אחינו בפילאדילפא שאת והכסף אשר הבטיחו אנשי ניו יורק  
לשלוח אלינו מעולם לא הגיעו ולכן לדאבון לבנו פתח בית  
המדרש בסגר אחרי משך איזה שנים: על כל פנים בית הלימוד לחנך הנערים  
נשאר באיתנו לא יפחות מן המוכחרים שבמדינה, אף כי קצת מבני עמנו הנחשבים  
לחכמים, ורק חכמים המה בעיניהם, מאסו בו באמרם כי בשבילו נתפרדנו מן  
הכלל ונחשבנו ככת בפני עצמה, אולם באמת הבית היה פתוח לכל אדם יהודי  
יהיה או נכרי וקצת מן המלמדים היו נכרים: המתנגדים אל בית הלימוד  
הוא הביאו טעם אחר להלחם עליו באמרם כי לא ינתן רשות לתלמידים לעבור  
משם אל בית הלימוד הגדול של רבים (האי סקול) אפילו אם ראויים הם  
להכנס שם מפני שרק תלמידי בתי לימוד של רבים<sup>11</sup> (פובליק סקול)  
יוכלו לבא שמה: אז הוצעה בקשה לפני בית המשפט אשר בפינסילוניא ורשות  
נתנה לשום בית לימודנו במדרגת בתי הלימוד של רבים,<sup>12</sup> מה שלא הורשה

<sup>7</sup> Morais treats רחוב, which is masculine, as if it were in the feminine gender. His treatment may have been influenced by the fact that "street" is feminine in many European languages.

<sup>8</sup> The editor of this document has placed in parentheses those words which the writer crossed out.

<sup>9</sup> החכם here is used in the sense of "the Reverend Mr."

<sup>10</sup> יקדשו instead of יקדשו or יקדשו, "dedicate," or "devote," seems to have been preferred by Morais, although the *hiphil* form, יקדשו, would be far more justifiable.

<sup>11</sup> The money promised by the people of New York never did arrive.

<sup>12</sup> See Note 6, above.

לשום בית לימוד אחר והמקטרגים יד שמו [שמו יד] לפיהם: קרוב לשנת  
 אתתע"ז באו פה מתי מספר מארצות רוסיא ובתיישבו בצד צפוני מזרחי של  
 העיר הזאת, רחוק היה המקום ממקומות אשר רבו שמה בני אדם וכמו שלשה  
 מילין ורובע רחוק מאמצע (?) העיר, ולא נמצא בו בתי מושב אחינו ובתי  
 מסחרם: רע היה המקום וחסר מה שהוצרך לדירת אנוש, אך בזול יוכל איש  
 להשכיר בית בגבולו סביב ולכן בחרו הגרים<sup>13</sup> במקום ההוא: כשמוע החברה כי  
 שם ישכנו אחינו חייבה עצמה למלאות ספקם גם בלימוד גם בהנהגתם על פי  
 דרך ארץ ומוסר: בשמונה ועשרים לחדש דיסיבר (=דיסימבר) אתתע"ט  
 (פתחה)<sup>14</sup> קנתה (בית לימוד)<sup>15</sup> שמה שלשה בתים סמוכים זה לזה ושם  
 יסדה בתי לימוד לא לחנך הנערים בלימודים בלבד אלא להורותם גם כן מלאכת  
 יד כגון התפירה והאריגה וכולי לנערות ועשיית סיגארים ומלאכת חרש עצים  
 וכולי לנערים: החברה החילה שתקבל עזר מחוץ אך תוחלתה נכזבה, ובעבור  
 זה הוכרחה לעזוב חינוך הנערים בכלל ותשם לה חוק וגבול ללמד קריאת לשון  
 עברי ופירוש המלות בלשון העם אשר אנתנו בקרבו והמאורעות אשר  
 אירעו (לנו) לאבותינו מיום היותם לגוי: להגיע אל המטרה הזאת יסדה החברה  
 שלשה בתי לימוד במקומות שונים בעיר הזאת, אך לימוד מלאכות עדיין בחזקו  
 (נשארה)<sup>16</sup> עמד בצד צפוני מזרחי לעירנו וגם הוא עושה פרי למינו, ועוד  
 הרחיבה החברה<sup>14</sup> לימוד מלאכת יד בתת לו מקום אף בצד דרומי לעירנו: מנהיג  
 החברה בזמן הזה אחרי אשר עבד בה עבודות באופנים שונים נבחר בשנת  
 אתתס"ב להיות הפרנס הראשון (פריסידינט) ושמש עד שנת אתתע"א:  
 באותו הפרק<sup>15</sup> לא יתנוהו צרכיו לשאת עוד את המשא והוכרח לפרקו<sup>15</sup> מעל  
 שכמו, אז החברה הלכה הלך ודלה, הכסף חלף הלך לו<sup>16</sup> ובית לימוד לחנך  
 הנערים בלימודים בכלל תם ונשלם, אולם לימוד לשון עברי לנא כלה ולא  
 יכלה כל עוד החברה קיימת:

<sup>13</sup> "strangers," or "sojourners," used by Morais for "immigrants."

<sup>14</sup> In the text: החברה הרחיבה, with a sign for the transposition of the words, made by the author.

<sup>15</sup> פרק, "a season," "a time," or "a period," is used here to make a play on words with לפרקו, "to remove [it; the burden]."

<sup>16</sup> The money is gone! But this phrase is coined on the pattern of לו חלף הלך, "the rain is over and gone" (Song of Songs 2:11).

[Page 3] בשנת אתתפ"ב צרות רבות ורעות<sup>17</sup> סבלו אחינו אשר תחת (מלכות) ממשלת<sup>18</sup> רוסיא ואלפים נסו (משם)<sup>19</sup> לנפשם ועזבו כל רכושם או גורשו ממקום מולדתם ושמו פעמיהם דרך ארצנו למצוא מחסה ומסתור בצלה ולהיות חפשים לנפשם: והי אחרי בואם ויוסיפו עוד לבוא הנה אלפים ורבבות ויגדלו מספרם עד כי לא לבד בערים הרחובות (?) נמצאו יהודים מארצות סקלאווגיא,<sup>20</sup> דהיינו אנשי רוסיא רומניא והונגריא, אלא גם בכפרים רבו למרבה: הגרים ההם נתקבלו בסבר פנים יפות וביחוד בפילאדילפיא כי פה השתדלו הקהלות להיטב להם ולהתעורר הלבבות לשנוא את הצרים הצוררים אותם בנכליהם<sup>21</sup>: מספר היהודים ההם הבאים אלינו בדלותם הכביד את המשא על כתפי אחיהם אשר כבר השתקעו פה מלפנים, כי צריכים אלו להדריך את הבאים בארץ הנכונה בלדמם ספר וגימוסי הארץ אשר הגרים לא ידעום יען גולדו בין עמים רקים ופוחזים: על כן אחרי אשר הקפידו אחיהם על צרכי גופם נתחייבו עצמם להרגיש<sup>22</sup> גם על צרכי נפשותם למען ישיגו (מטרותם)<sup>23</sup> תכליתם וכל אחד מהם יהיה כאזרח הארץ: מעולם לא דמינו כי מספר הגרים יעלה כל כך כאשר הוא עתה, כי הנה החכם ליסער אשר הכיר היהודים שבאמריקה יותר מכל איש כתב במאמר אחד בשנת אתתס"ו כדברים האלה: "חשבון היהודים בעיר ניו יורק קרוב הוא לעשרת אלפים נפשות": ובאותו המאמר הוסיף לכתוב "בפילאדילפיא נמצאו שלוש קהלות העולות לחשבון אלף וחמש מאות או שמונה מאות"<sup>24</sup>: כמדומה לנו שבעת

<sup>17</sup> Based upon a portion of the verse Deuteronomy 31:17, "and many evils and troubles shall come upon them."

<sup>18</sup> *Sclavonia* = the Slavic countries.

<sup>19</sup> Here Morais employs a phrase which is based upon Numbers 25:18, "for they harass you, by their wiles." He takes the word "enemies," to be the Russian czars by similarity of sound: *tsar* = צר. The dots over the word הצרים are in the text of the document.

<sup>20</sup> *להרגיש* is an Anglicism: "to feel" = "to mind," that is, "to take care," "to pay attention to," "to minister to."

<sup>21</sup> The Leeser reference is from a book by I. Daniel Rupp, *History of All the Religious Denominations in the United States* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1848). It may be that Leeser took his reference from the first edition of the book, published in 1844. This first edition, with a different title, is described in A. S. W. Rosenbach, *An American Bibliography, etc. (Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Vol. XXX),* p. 397, No. 549. There may have been later editions, possibly one for the year 1866.

היה מספר כל עם ישראל כלו במדינות הנדבקות יחד<sup>22</sup> היה שני אלפים וחמש מאות, ועכשו כפי החשבון הנעשה במנותנו אנשים ונשים אשר שמם רשום בקהלות ובחברות הצדקה וכולי יעלה המספר למעלה מארבעים אלף דווקא וחציים נולדו בארצות סקלוניא: כל אלה נתיישבו בתוכנו במשך שנים עשרה שנה וצרכיהם המרובים מוטלים על חברות הלימוד והצדקה, ואף אם נמצאו קצת מהם שיתפרנסו את בני ביתם בזעת אפם מועטים המה אשר יזילו זהב מכיסם<sup>23</sup> להועיל לאחרים: הלא ישמח לבנו בראותנו כי קהלות ישראל שומרים את חקי האלדים<sup>24</sup> ואת תורותיו בעזרם<sup>25</sup> את האביונים ובהטיב לגרים הן בגופם הן בנפשותם: הנשים מבנות ישראל [תקד] [ש] צתן אל הכוונה הזאת לא על מנת לקבל פרס אלא לעשות נחת רוח ליוצרנו ברחם על כריותיו: עוד תועלת אחר<sup>26</sup> תגיע לגרים השוכנים פה בעירנו יען לא יצטרכו להקבץ במחוז צר כמו בניו יורק ואם אגודות אגודות נמצאו עם כל זה רְנוח יש ביניהם: רובם ימצאו בין ספרוס סטריט לווינגטון אויניו ובין סיקונד וברוד סטריט מחוז של שלוש מאות<sup>27</sup> וארבעה עשר מילין צפונה ונגבה ומיל קדמה וימה: בתוך המחוז הזה נמצאו בתי לימוד שנאספים בו ילדים וילדות ביום ראשון בשבוע, ועוד אחד אשר יסדה חברת נשים בשנת אתתפ"ה הנקרא בשם קינדיר גארטין ועוד אחד ללמד לנערות מעשה אופה וכישול תחת השגחת חברת בית הלימוד אשר דברנו עליה פעמים רבות במכתב הזה:

<sup>22</sup> Peculiar, literal Hebrew for "the states which are joined together" [United States]; see above, Note 1.

<sup>23</sup> A phrase found in Isaiah 46:6, "הולים זהב מכיס, "that lavish gold out of the bag."

<sup>24</sup> This was the way in which Morais avoided writing the Holy Name אלהים: instead of mutilating it by writing אלקים, he cleverly used the letter ד for the ה, merely omitting the tiny left-hand stroke.

<sup>25</sup> The word in the document has a double !, one of which was crossed out by the author.

<sup>26</sup> This word was shortened: אחר instead of אחרת, a usual rabbinic way of writing.

<sup>27</sup> The original מילין עשר וארבעה מאות seems to be an obvious *lapsus calami*. It is possible that מאות was written for אמות, "cubits," "yards," or perhaps עשר and מאות are superfluous. It cannot be 314 miles! It may simply mean an area of between three and four square miles, which is more likely.

[Page 4] אולם יש שמתרעמים באמנם כי צר המקום למספר שניתוסף תמיד ולצרכי התלמידים (ולמען לא יזיק)<sup>28</sup> ולעכב את האור שיזיק באידיו הממיתים את היושבים במקום זה בבתי הלימוד ההם: מחבר המכתב הזה בקש ולא מצא עזר כי אם באמצעות החברה הנזכרת, ולכן אחרי אשר משך ידו ממנה במשך אחת עשרה שנה נתרצה להמנות לראש רק להפיק רצונו הטוב: מה שהוא תאב בכל נפשו לעשות כדי להגיע אל המטרה נראה להכריז כדבר שאי אפשר לקיימו ולכן קמו רעיו (ועמדו נגדו)<sup>29</sup> וחלקו עליו כי חשבו שההוצאות הנצרכות תמנענה להוציא המחשבה אל הפועל, אך עתה הספקות הגולדות בקרבם ספו תמו: אחר העמל והטורח מצאה החברה מקום כבוד רחב בשטחו ברור באורו מלא: חדרים לישיב בהם אלף וחמש מאות נערים ונערות: במקום ההוא יאספו כל בתי הלימוד וכל בתי הספרות ובו ימצא חבר מיוחד (לאסוף)<sup>30</sup> לקבץ בו ספרים ולדרוש שם ברבים וגם מקום בלי מצרים ללמד בו מלאכת יד הן לזכרים הן לנקבות, ושם ימצא דבר הנצרך מאד דהיינו בית המרחץ לנשים ובית המרחץ לנשים: כוונתנו היא להרחיב גבולות לימוד המלאכות ובפרט לנקבות כגון מלאכת התפירה כדי לעשות בגדים ולתארם, . . .<sup>28</sup> ולהעריכם קודם עשייתם וגם מלאכות שונות אשר נבראו או נמצאו . . . מינו<sup>29</sup> לענין הכתיבה, דרך משל לכתוב במכונה על הנייר דיבור המדובר (במרוצה)<sup>30</sup> על (ידו)<sup>31</sup> ידי אותות וכיוצא בזה: עוד על ידי קיטור העשן (סטימ) נוכל להוסיף על המלאכות הנלמדות מקודם, בקיצור, כל מגמתנו ליסד בגין אשר יגרום הרחבת גבולות הדעת האנושי<sup>32</sup> להרים את הגרים משפלותם עד שידמו לאזרחי הארץ: מגמתנו להקים בגין אשר יחפץ בו ואשר בו יתפאר הגר אשר בקרבנו ויתעוררו בלבו רגשי תודה לאל יתברך ולאחיו העברים על שפע הטוב המושפע עליו: הגר אשר בקרבנו יאבה ויכסוף להרים קרנו ויראה לעין כל כי ראוי והנן הוא להמנות בין אנשים חפשים ילידי הריפובליקא המפוארה הזאת: הבגין אשר יבנה בפנותו הדרך להגיע (את)<sup>33</sup> אל הטובות אשר רמזנו עליהן ישאר לזכר עולם לדורות הבאים וכלם ידעו ויאמינו

<sup>28</sup> It seems to mean "tailoring."

<sup>29</sup> Only the letters ס ט י are recognizable; they seem to stand for בימינו "in our days" or "in our times," i. e., "modern."

<sup>30</sup> דעת אנושית for דעת אנושי<sup>31</sup>

כי אהבת האדם (צפונה)<sup>31</sup> טמונה בלב איש אשר בשם ישראל יכנה והנה הוא מקיים באמת מצות התורה „ואהבת לרעך כמוך“:

משה בר אהרן דרופסי  
מנהיג הראשון של החברה.

[Page 5] בסוף מכתב המנהג הראשון בא ספור<sup>32</sup> מאת דוד בר יהודה צולזבערגער בו מגיד הסופר ההוא של החברה מה שנעשה במשך שנים עשר חדש שעברו מהזמן אשר נתאספו יחד אנשי החברה, ואומר כי אחרי אשר נמכר הבנין ברחוב השביעית הועתק בית לימוד שהיה שם לחנך הילדים והילדות בלשון עברי אל מקום אחר, ועוד כי הספרים אשר הניח החכם ליסער במחנת חנם נתקנו באופן ישר לדעת מה טיבם אם על המקראות או על התפלות או על התלמוד או על (מכתבי)<sup>33</sup> קורות העתים המה, וכי רשימתם הוכנה היטב להודיע כמה ספרים יש על כל ענין וענין, ועוד כי בעזבון של דניאל גאנז<sup>34</sup> אשר היה מלפנים תחת השגחת קרובו אהרן גאנז הובא אל יד משה בר אהרן דרופסי ויהי לו לערב, וכי החברה קבלה מממכר הבנין ברחוב השביעית כמעט עשרת אלפים דולארים, וכי שכר של חמשה חמשה דולארים הניתן בכל שנה לתלמיד ותיק לזכרון שני ילדים נורמאן וקורטני<sup>35</sup> שמתו נתן כנהוג, וכי מוריס גיבורגער<sup>36</sup> נדב מאה דולארים למען יקנה בפרותיהם שכר לתלמידי בית לימוד קינדיר גארטין ובשם שכר מורטון גיבורגער יקרא, וכי מספר הילדים והילדות בשלשה בתי לימוד לשון עברי עולה למאה ויותר, וכי בבית לימוד מלאכת יד אשר ברחוב לא . . .<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> ספור, “a tale,” used by Morais for a secretary’s report.

<sup>32</sup> Daniel Gans was a member of the clothing firm of Gans, Leberman & Co., of Third and Market Sts., Philadelphia, and was very active in Jewish communal affairs. See Henry S. Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia* (1894), pp. 268, 312.

<sup>33</sup> Thus far I have been unable to identify these two children. Were they, too, of the Gans family?

<sup>34</sup> For the identification of Morris Newburger, see Morais, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 191, 290-91.

<sup>35</sup> Here the page, which is much shorter than the other four in the number of its written lines, is very defective, and breaks off at the beginning of the word לא (Lo), evidently standing for “Locust Street.”

[Page 1]

# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE HEBREW EDUCATION SOCIETY AND ITS AIMS AND ACTIVITIES

The necessity of training Jewish children through teachers competent and well-versed in general studies, and particularly in teaching the Hebrew tongue, was an urgent matter to which the members of our congregations had long paid close attention. In the past, however, a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue used to be gained, for the most part, from teachers who would come into private homes to instruct the children, while the pupils themselves understood very little of what [their teachers] had to teach them; and the teachers' pay for their work was also very little, insufficient to support them. Consequently, [the teachers] had to engage in other work in order to support themselves, and the pupils were [, therefore,] unable to acquire a proper knowledge of the Hebrew tongue and of the commandments of the Torah. In addition to all that has been said above, there were many faults to be found with the books which the children studied in the public schools, whether those books had been composed as textbooks or for private purposes [i. e., literary works]; for some of the ideas [found in those books] estranged their readers from the Mosaic Law and brought them nearer to the Christian religion in which their authors believed.

This was precisely the status of education among our people who lived here about fifty years ago, and a similar condition prevailed among all our brethren in the United States. The Jews at that time complained because their children were growing up ignorant of the foundations of the divine religion and its laws, and vainly did our Jewish brethren seek a remedy for this evil. At that time, however, there arose a man among men to show us how we could find healing and a remedy. That man, Isaac



Leeser, is suitably and properly to be called the first guide, leading the people in the path of righteousness. With a great love that was dependent on no [financial] consideration, and with a willing spirit, he labored, more than all his predecessors and even more perhaps than all his successors, to strengthen the Hebrew religion in our midst and to uphold the hands of its adherents. Isaac Leeser untied a tightly bound knot which others had despaired of loosing, when he organized the above-mentioned society, which seems to have been the very first in the whole United States to undertake the instruction of Jewish children in the knowledge of the commandments of the living God. The Reverend Mr. Leeser saw, long beforehand, what the future would bring; for, regarding it as insufficient for our children to have only a rudimentary knowledge [of Jewish subjects], he determined to add to those studies some knowledge of literature, philosophy, and [other] secular subjects which are taught in the schools according to required and fixed rules.

On March 7, 1847, the [Hebrew Education] Society was founded, and on April 7th of the following year a charter was granted to it by the Pennsylvania State Legislature. That charter authorized the establishment not only of a school to educate children who were minors, but also of a college to ordain students as rabbis in Israel. The first school for small children was opened on April 7, 1851, and was organized like all the public schools. The books and the methods of instruction were the equivalents [of those of the public schools], although in our school the holy tongue [Hebrew] was to be taught, as well as Latin, French, and German.

In the year 1853, Judah Zuntz [Judah Zuntz died in 1829; Morais must have meant Judah Touro, who died in January, 1854. — *Ed.*], having been prevailed upon by the Reverend Mr. Leeser, left a bequest of \$20,000 to aid the good work. This money was received on February 5, 1854, and was used to

purchase the building on Seventh Street near Callowhill Street. By May 28, 1854, the building was ready for use as a school.

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On October 28, 1867, studies were commenced in the academy called Maimonides College in memory of the *RaMBaM*, may his memory be a blessing. Its aim was to offer its students good instruction in the entire Hebrew language and, to some extent, in the languages cognate thereto; and combined with [instruction in] Bible and Talmud were to be all the branches of learning necessary for modern rabbis. The Reverend Mr. Leaser, the Reverend Mr. [Marcus] Jastrow, the Reverend Mr. [Aaron S.] Bettelheim, and Sabato Morais devoted their time to teaching there, gratis, and their labors were gladly accepted by their people. The expenses incurred from the studies and from the students' maintenance were, however, more than our brethren in Philadelphia could bear. Also, the money which the people of New York had promised to send us was never forthcoming and, consequently, to our sorrow, the college closed after a few years. The children's school, to be sure, maintained its vigor and did not fall short of the best [schools] in the state, despite the fact that some of our people who were held to be wise, but were wise only in their own estimate, despised it and argued that on its account we had been set apart from the general community and were considered a sect in ourselves. The truth was, however, that the school was open to all, Jews and non-Jews alike, and that some of its teachers were non-Jews. Those who opposed the school adduced another reason in its disfavor and claimed that, despite their suitable preparation, the pupils would be denied permission to proceed from there to the public high schools, since only public school students would be admitted there. A petition was then presented to the Pennsylvania Legislature, and permission to place our school on the same level as the public

schools was granted. [Since that was] something not granted to any other school, the opposition was effectively silenced.

About the year 1877, a large number of people from the Russian lands came here and settled in the northeastern side of this city. The site was far from the sections where most people lived, and some three and a quarter miles from the center of the city. Nor were any residences and business places of our brethren to be found there. The neighborhood was in poor condition and lacked decent living facilities, but since it was possible to rent a house cheaply in the area, the immigrants chose to live there. When the Society heard that our brethren had settled there, it assumed the obligation of supplying their educational needs and of helping them to adjust to their new social and cultural conditions. On December 28, 1879, it acquired three adjacent houses in the neighborhood and there established schools not only to educate the children academically, but also to teach them such manual trades as sewing and weaving [embroidery?], etc., for girls, and cigar making and carpentry, etc., for boys. The Society had hoped to obtain outside help, but the frustration of its hopes obliged it to forego general education for the children, and to confine itself to the teaching of Hebrew reading, of translation into the vernacular, and of the history of our ancestors from the time they became a nation. In order to achieve this aim, the Society established three schools in different sections of this city, but the vocational training school, which has remained in the northeastern part of our city, is still active and "yields fruit after its kind." The Society, moreover, extended [its program of] vocational training by setting up a place for it on the south side of our city. In the meantime, the Society's director, after conducting its activities in various capacities, was elected its first president in the year 1862, and served until 1871. At that time his own personal needs no longer allowed him to bear that burden, and he was

forced to remove it from his shoulders. Then the Society became increasingly impoverished. Its funds were depleted, and the school for the general education of children was closed down. The teaching of the Hebrew language, however, did not cease, and was not to be suspended, as long as the Society existed.

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In the year 1882, our brethren who were subject to the Russian government suffered many evils and troubles. Thousands [of them] fled (from there) for their lives and abandoned all their possessions or they were expelled from their birth-places and directed their steps towards our country to find shelter and a refuge, and to be free under its protection. And it happened, after their arrival, that thousands and tens of thousands continued to come here, and their numbers increased until Jews from the Slavic lands — that is, from Russia, Roumania, and Hungary — were to be found in growing numbers not only in the large cities but in the smaller towns as well. Those immigrants were received with friendliness, especially in Philadelphia, for here the congregations strove to treat them kindly and to encourage people to hate the enemies who were oppressing them with their wiles. The number of these Jews who came to us in their poverty imposed a heavier burden on their brethren who were already settled here. For the latter had to give the newcomers proper guidance in study and in the social mores of the country with which, having been born among inane and unstable peoples, the immigrants were unfamiliar. After attending, therefore, to [the immigrants'] physical needs, their brethren assumed the responsibility of ministering also to their spiritual needs, so that they might achieve their goal (purpose), and so that each one of them might become like the native-born. We never imagined that the number of the immigrants would grow to what it is now, for the Reverend Mr. Leeser, who was better

acquainted than anyone else with the Jews in America, wrote as follows in an article in the year 1844 or 1848: "The Jews in New York City number about 10,000 souls." In the same article, he added that "in Philadelphia there are three congregations amounting to fifteen or eighteen hundred [persons]." It seems to us that the entire Jewish population in America at that time numbered twenty-five hundred [?];<sup>36</sup> but now, according to our reckoning, counting men and women whose names were recorded in the congregations, charitable organizations, etc., the number in Philadelphia alone would actually exceed 40,000, half of them born in the Slavic lands. All these have settled among us during the past twelve years, and their increased needs have to be supplied by the educational and charitable societies. Even if some of them are self-supporting, there are few who open their purses to help others!

Our hearts rejoice, indeed, to see that the Jewish congregations observe God's statutes and His Torah by helping the needy and by showing kindness to the immigrants, both physically and spiritually. Jewish women devoted their time for this purpose, not for the sake of receiving a reward, but to gratify our Creator by befriending His creatures. Yet another benefit is conferred on the immigrants who reside here in our city, because they do not find it necessary to crowd themselves into a narrow district, as [is the case] in New York; for, though there are many groups [of immigrants], there is still [sufficient] space between them. Most of them are to be found between Spruce Street and Washington Avenue and between Second and Broad Streets, a district of three hundred fourteen miles from north to south and a mile from east to west [*sic*!]. Within this district there are

<sup>36</sup> Morais' figure of 2,500 Jews for the year 1866 is absurdly low. According to *The American Jewish Year Book: 5665* (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 306, M. A. Berk estimated the Jewish population of the United States at 50,000 in 1848. In 1866, it must have been much more. In all probability the author meant 250,000.

to be found Sunday schools for boys and girls, another [school] founded by the Women's Society [Young Women's Union] in the year 1885 and called the Kindergarten, and still another [school] to teach girls baking and cooking under the supervision of the Education Society, which we have often mentioned in this report.

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Some, however, complain[ed] that the place [was] too crowded for the constantly increasing numbers and for the needs of the students who attend[ed] those schools and who might be harmed by the air which, with its poisonous gases, afflicts the inhabitants of that area. The writer of this report sought aid, but found it only through the above-mentioned Society. Consequently, after he had withdrawn from [his office in] it for eleven years, he was willing to be re-elected president, [if] only to demonstrate his good will. What he desired to do with all his heart in order to reach [his] goal seemed impossible of achievement to his associates, and so his friends rose up in opposition to him because they were convinced that the expenses necessarily attendant on his plan would prevent its execution. Now, however, all the doubts which they harbored have totally ceased. After [much] toil and trouble, the Society has found a decent location, spacious in area, brightly lit, and comprising many rooms with a seating capacity of fifteen hundred boys and girls. All the classes and reading rooms are to be gathered together in those quarters, and there is also to be a special section for a library and a public lecture hall, as well as a large place to teach both men and women the manual trades. There will be something else there that is very necessary — a bathhouse for women and a bathhouse for men. It is our intention to expand the scope of the vocational training [program], especially for women; for example, a course in sewing for the designing and . . .

making of clothing, and also [courses in] various occupations invented in our times on the subject of writing, for example, typing, stenography, etc. By the use of steam, moreover, we shall be able to add to the trades already taught. Our aim, in short, is to establish a building which will extend the limits of human knowledge, raising the immigrants from their low estate so that they may become the equals of the native-born of the country. Our aim is to erect a structure in which the immigrant in our midst may take pleasure and pride and by which he may be inspired to thank God, may He be blessed, and his Hebrew brethren for the abundance of goodness showered upon him. The immigrant in our midst will be willing, and will desire, to be improved and to show to all that he deserves to be numbered among free men, born in this glorious republic. By paving the way to the achievement of the benefits which we have mentioned, the building to be erected will remain as an everlasting reminder to coming generations, and all of them will know and believe that love of one's fellow men lies in the heart of every man called a Jew, and that in truth he fulfills the commandment of the Torah, "And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

MOSES BAR AARON DROPSIE  
Chief Director of the Society.

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At the conclusion of the Chief Director's report, there is an additional report by David bar Judah Sulzberger, in which that secretary of the Society gives an account of what was done during the twelve months which elapsed since the [last] time the members met. He [Sulzberger] relates that after the building on Seventh Street was sold, the school which had been housed there for the education of boys and girls in Hebrew was removed elsewhere. Also that the books bequeathed as a gift by the

Reverend Mr. Leeser were properly arranged according to their subject matter, Bible or prayers or Talmud or history, and a list of the number of books on each subject was prepared. Also, that the bequest of Daniel Gans, which had been held in trust by his relative Aaron Gans, was turned over to Moses bar Aaron Dropsie, who became its trustee. And that the Society received almost \$10,000 from the sale of the building on Seventh Street, and that the five-dollar award given annually to a competent student in memory of two deceased children, Norman and Courtney, was given as usual. Also, that Morris Newburger donated \$100 so that from the interest thereof an award should be purchased for the Kindergarten, to be called the Morton Newburger Award. And that the number of boys and girls in the three Hebrew schools exceeds one hundred, and that in the vocational training school which is on Lo.[cust] Street . . .



# The Role of Wolf Schur as Hebraist and Zionist

JACOB KABAKOFF

## I. IN THE NEW WORLD

THE coming of Wolf [Zev] Schur to the United States in 1888 presaged a period of growth and development on the American Hebrew literary scene. After the modest activity of the 1870's, there followed some years of decline and standstill. Schur was followed here by Ephraim Deinard and Michael L. Rodkinson, who also were active in behalf of Hebrew letters. The close of the 1880's, therefore, marks a turning point in the formative period of American Hebrew writing.

Schur, who was born in the 1840's in Lithuania,<sup>1</sup> played a special role as a pioneer of the American Hebrew press. He was an ardent propagandist on behalf of the Hibbat Zion ["Love of Zion"] movement and, with the advent of Theodor Herzl, of political Zionism as well. His writing was characterized by a zeal for the cause of the East European immigrant, whom he sought to aid and defend against his detractors. He championed his views with fervor in his weekly publications, *Ha-Pisgah* and

Rabbi Jacob Kabakoff is Dean of the Institute of Jewish Studies of the Bureau of Jewish Education in Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>1</sup> According to most biographical sources, Schur was born in Outian, near Kovno, Lithuania, in 1840. In *The American Jewish Year Book*: 5665 (1904-1905), p. 183, however, Schur's birth date is given as October 27, 1844. See A. R. Malachi's introduction to the section of Schur's letters in his *Igrot Sofrim* (1932), pp. 84-87, and B. Z. Eisenstadt's *Hakhmé Yisrael ba' Amerika* (1903), pp. 103-4.

*Ha-Tehiyah*, which he maintained at great personal sacrifice, and gave literary form to his ideas in his volume, *Nezah Yisrael* ("The Eternity of Israel," 1896).

Schur achieved a position of some stature in this country because he already had a considerable reputation when he appeared on the literary scene. He had been a regular contributor to Peretz Smolenskin's *Ha-Shahar* and Judah Loeb Kantor's *Ha-Yom*, to *Ha-Melitz*, and to other publications. His book, *Mahazot Ha-Hayim* ("Scenes of Life," 1884), describing his travels in the Orient, had been favorably received. He had also edited the volume, *Massaot Shlomo* ("Travels of Solomon," 1887), by Solomon Rinman. Despite these successes, Schur was constantly in financial straits. In 1882 he moved to Vienna, where he tried to make a living by writing.<sup>2</sup> Later he sought to go to Palestine as the secretary of Kalman Zev Wissotzky, but when this plan fell through he decided to emigrate to this country.

In New York Schur obtained some support among the group of *maskilim*, Westernized East European Jewish intellectuals, who were largely members of the lower and middle classes. He found a circle of readers who followed the European Hebrew press, and to them he dedicated his Hebrew weekly, *Ha-Pisgah*. Happy that Schur had come, the *maskilim* rallied around his journal, which carried the English masthead: "The Summit, the only Hebrew literary weekly in America for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of the ancient Hebrew language among the Jews."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Schur's letters to J. J. Weisberg, published by Malachi in *Igrot Sofrim*, pp. 88-100, and to Smolenskin and Kantor, published by Baruch Rubinstein in his article, "L'Zikhro Shel Zev Wolf Schur," *Bitzaron*, IV (1953), 437-41. Schur informed Weisberg as early as March 11, 1886, of his intention of going to America.

<sup>3</sup> Hillel Malachowsky, who had preceded Schur to America, writes in his memoirs: "How happy I was . . . when I heard that a group of Hebrew writers had arrived in New York — my friend Wolf Schur, Ephraim Deinard and Michael Rodkinson,

In his initial editorial in the opening issue of *Ha-Pisgah*, which appeared in New York on September 14, 1888, Schur stated that he wished to unite the various groups in American Jewry through the medium of the Hebrew language. He spoke also of the need to "arouse the national feeling" and remained faithful to the spirit of Hibbat Zion. But his hope of finding enough support to continue the regular publication of his journal was shattered, and he had to cease publication after the thirteenth number.

In the twelfth issue of *Ha-Pisgah*, dated December 21, 1888, Schur announced the formation of a committee to aid his journal. Among the members were some of the leading rabbis and *maskilim* in New York, men like Alexander Kohut, Bernard Drachman, Leopold Zinsler, Pinkhos Minkovsky, Judah David Eisenstein, H. Pereira Mendes, and others. Despite this imposing list, Schur was able to publish only one additional issue during the first year.<sup>4</sup>

In the first volume of *Ha-Pisgah* a number of Schur's central ideas were underscored. He dwelt on the neglect to which the East European immigrants had been abandoned and on the need for improving their lot. He stressed the importance of fostering the Hebrew language and establishing "Hebrew language societies," which should include also laborers. In Zionist activity he saw a means of combating assimilation and Reform, which he attacked at every opportunity.

and each with the ambition to be a Hebrew editor. Wolf Schur was the first with *Ha-Pisgah*, and I immediately sent him an article which was printed in the second issue." See *Kitvé Hillel ben Zev Malachowsky*, II (1940), 60-61.

<sup>4</sup> Attempts to issue journals were made at that time also by Deinard and Rodkinson. Deinard started his weekly, *Ha-Leumi*, on December 14, 1888, and published twenty-three numbers. Rodkinson started his *Ha-Kol* even later, on February 9, 1899, first as a biweekly and then as a weekly, and published nineteen numbers. Both attempts failed for lack of support. Their literary level was inferior to that of *Ha-Pisgah*, whose editor was by far the best of the group.

Despite his unsuccessful effort and the short-lived journalistic attempts of Deinard and Rodkinson which followed, Schur did not abandon the idea of renewing his publication. He traveled to various cities in order to muster the support of the Hebrew readers. In a letter to Hillel Malachowsky, from St. Louis on April 10, 1889, Schur informed him of his intention of settling in Cincinnati, where he felt that there were prospects for publishing his paper.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, however, Schur returned to New York where, on March 21, 1890, more than a year after his first effort, he began to issue the second volume of his journal. In the leading article he pleaded with his readers to spread the knowledge of Hebrew, for "if the young generation will not understand at least what is written in our Scriptures, then our people and Judaism will surely fall." He castigated those who said: "What need have we at the end of the nineteenth century for the dead Hebrew language, especially in America? In crossing the great ocean which divides the old and new worlds, we have shaken off all the preconceived ideas which we acquired there." Schur appealed to his readers to answer his call and pay in advance the subscription fee of sixty-five cents for a quarter of a year, so that he could continue publishing his journal.<sup>6</sup>

During the years 1890 to 1892, *Ha-Pisgah* was practically the only Hebrew periodical in America, and thus it achieved some measure of success.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the editor often had to leave

<sup>5</sup> *Igrot Sofrim*, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Even so staunch a supporter of Schur as Moshe Falk Mervis of Baltimore voiced his skepticism in *Ha-Melitz*, No. 72 (1890), as to the prospects of Schur's success. He wrote: "I doubt if in our city two or three people have fulfilled his request to send him in advance the subscription fee of sixty-five cents for a quarter of a year, even though we did all we could for him."

<sup>7</sup> In 1891, Rodkinson issued his *Ha-Sanegor*, first as a biweekly and then as a weekly. Nine numbers appeared. The weekly *Ha-Ibri* did not appear until April 11, 1892.

New York on trips to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh in order to obtain subscriptions for his journal. In the hope that he could strengthen his publication, Schur entered into a partnership with Kasriel Zvi Sarasohn, publisher of the *Yidishe Gazetn*. The partnership, however, lasted only nine weeks. Schur published his journal for another two months but found it necessary to move to Baltimore where, beginning with the thirty-eighth issue, dated January 1, 1891, he continued publication. For a time he edited the Yiddish weekly *Der Israelit*, which he also dedicated to the Zionist idea.

Following a difference of opinion with his printer, Moshe Silberman, who published also *Der Israelit*, Schur obtained Hebrew type from New York, with the help of the Hovevé Zion ["Lovers of Zion"] Society, and started his own printing shop. He began issuing *Ha-Pisgah* on his own, on August 12, 1892, in a double format of eight pages, instead of four, as heretofore. He set the type himself, and with the aid of his wife dispatched the weekly issues to his subscribers. It was a constant struggle to keep the publication going because the approximately one thousand subscribers were never punctual in paying for their subscriptions.

Schur made an effort not only to rally the Hovevé Zion groups in America around his journal, but also to maintain contact with the European societies. In his pamphlet, *Sefer Zikhronot Zion* (Baltimore, 1893, pp. 15-16), David Panitz, who was then still in London, tells how he helped obtain subscriptions for *Ha-Pisgah*, after Schur had written to him complaining of the lack of support in America. Panitz reprinted Schur's letters containing appeals for help, stating that about forty copies were circulated weekly, thus "helping the Palestine idea in some measure."

The publication of *Ha-Pisgah* became even more difficult for Schur when he began to feel the pinch of competition from the

weekly *Ha-Ibri*, published by Sarasohn and edited by Gerson Rosenzweig. In an unpublished letter to Deinard, dated October 5, 1892, Schur suggested a plan for joint action to finance the publication of a Zionist periodical in Hebrew and in Yiddish.<sup>8</sup> He felt that if they could obtain the backing of the Hovevé Zion societies and of various individuals, sufficient funds might be raised for this purpose. The editing, Schur thought, could be done by Deinard and himself, with the help of the poet, Menahem Mendel Dolitzky.

After publishing in Baltimore for almost two years, Schur moved to Boston where, on January 22, 1893, he resumed publication of *Ha-Pisgah*. Only six issues had appeared when the periodical was again suspended. It was not until 1897 that publication was again resumed in Chicago. Writing to *Ha-Melitz* on May 31, 1893, Schur expressed regret over the cessation of his periodical, and stated that he hoped not only to resume publication soon, but also perhaps to publish a Yiddish weekly in order to spread the Zionist idea. From Boston, Schur moved to St. Louis, where he set up a printing shop and began his activities as the corresponding secretary of the Zionist group, Agudat Achim. In 1895, he published a pamphlet containing a Yiddish address, entitled *Tisha b'Ab* (bearing also the English title: "The Mourning Day of Israel"), which he had delivered before that group.

Finally, Schur settled in Chicago, the last stop in his life of travail and wandering. During the years 1896-1897, his reports from America on events of both general and Jewish interest appeared in *Ha-Melitz* and in *Ha-Zefrah*. In Chicago, where he maintained his own printing shop, he completed the writing of his book, *Nezah Yisrael*, which appeared under his own imprint.

<sup>8</sup> I have made use of nine unpublished Hebrew letters, written by Schur to Deinard during the years 1891 to 1901, from the collection of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.

Schur never ceased to seek an opportunity to renew his journal. In his letters to Moshe Falk Mervis during 1896-1897,<sup>9</sup> and to Hillel Malachowsky and Zvi Hirsch Masliansky during 1897,<sup>10</sup> he constantly referred to his plans for *Ha-Pisgah*. After the publication of his book, Schur traveled to various cities in order to sell it and to get support for his journal. Some of the *maskilim*, particularly Masliansky, wanted Schur to join forces with Rosenzweig, the editor of *Ha-Ibri*, but because of his long-standing feud with Sarasohn, the publisher, Schur refused to consider any such rapprochement.

After much indecision, Schur, on August 5, 1897, informed Malachowsky that he would renew publication in Chicago. He was counting not only on the support of readers in various cities, but also on that of prominent European Hebrew writers who had promised contributions to his journal. For want of any other means of support, Schur began the publication of the fifth volume of *Ha-Pisgah* on October 22, 1897, after an interval of four and a half years.

During the days of the augmented Zionist activity that followed the First Zionist Congress, Schur made his journal a forum for the new Zionism. He was still unable, however, to eke out a living from his journal. He continued to seek support from Europe, and got a number of noted writers to contribute. Among them were: Micah Joseph Berdichewsky, Joseph Klausner, Elhanan Loeb Levinsky, and Judah Loeb Levine (Yehalel). Among the earlier contributors there had been Reuben Brainin and Saul Tchernichowsky, whose first published poem, entitled *Ba-Halomi*, appeared in *Ha-Pisgah* on December 9, 1892.

<sup>9</sup> Moshe Falk Mervis, "Mikhtevé Zev Wolf Schur," *Ha-Olam* (1936), pp. 363-64, 415-16.

<sup>10</sup> *Igrot Sofrim*, pp. 107-8, 121-22.

Schur was always careful not to arouse the ire of the Russian censor so that he could continue to send his journal overseas. Because *Ha-Pisgah* had been banned, Schur, in order to circumvent the censor, changed the name of his journal after the close of the sixth volume to *Ha-Tehiyah* and was careful not to mention the old name. An unpublished letter to Deinard, dated January 3, 1898, makes it clear that even earlier Schur had printed about 150 copies of his journal under the new name for circulation in Russia. *Ha-Tehiyah* appeared from October 20, 1899, to November 2, 1900, for fifty-three consecutive issues.

In the summer of 1900, Schur became paralyzed after his return from the Fourth Zionist Congress which he had attended as a delegate. Forced to cease publication and to suspend his literary and Zionist activities, he remained a lonely and forlorn figure during his last years. We get a glimpse of his condition from an unpublished note to Deinard, dated February 23, 1901, which was apparently written for him. The note says:

It is more than four months since I have been stricken by paralysis. I am unable to write a single word or letter, and all my writing is done by others. I therefore had to cease publishing *Ha-Tehiyah*, and this is also the reason why I did not reply to your letter.

Few people remembered the role that Schur had played in furthering Zionism and Hebraism in America. The members of the Hebrew *Ohalé Shem* ["Tents of Shem"] Society collected a few dollars for him at the instance of Philip Turberg, secretary of the group, who had also been among the contributors to *Ha-Tehiyah*.<sup>11</sup> The Chicago Hebraists tried to raise a fund in order to set up a business which could support Schur.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See the report of the *Ohalé Shem* Society, *Ha-Modia La-Hodashim*, I (1901), 120.

<sup>12</sup> See Gerson Rosenzweig, "Hashkafah Klalit," *Ha-Ibri*, IX (1901), issue of June 7. Masliansky wrote in his memoirs that Bernhard Felsenthal had been in touch with him several times concerning Schur. See *Kitvé Masliansky*, III (1929), 175.



The Hebrew press disclosed little information concerning Schur's last years. Berdichewsky, who had contributed to *Ha-Pisgah*, was the only one to complain in *Ha-Zefirah* (1904) that Schur had been forgotten.<sup>13</sup> Schur suffered for nine years, and died on January 10, 1910, from blood poisoning after an operation. In America he was eulogized only by Joseph Selig Glick of Pittsburgh in his Yiddish weekly, *Folksfreind*.<sup>14</sup> A necrology filled with bitterness against the Chicago Hebraists for neglecting Schur was published by Isaac Suwalsky in his London weekly, *Ha-Yehudi*.<sup>15</sup> Funeral arrangements for Schur were made by his friend Moshe Newman, who also composed the verses which appear on his tombstone.<sup>16</sup> Thus ended the life and struggles of one of the remarkable pioneers of Zionism and Hebraism in America.

## II. NEZAH YISRAEL

One of the few books of the 1890's that has a place in the history of American Hebrew letters and that is largely the product of its time and place is Schur's *Nezah Yisrael* (Chicago, 1896). The aim of the author was to prove that "the Jewish people is an eternal people by virtue of its Torah, which is eternal because its source is divine and is based on understanding, happiness, and justice." He set out to combat the danger of missionary activity from without, and, from within, the danger of socialists, anarchists, and Reform Rabbis whom he looked upon as assimilationists.

<sup>13</sup> His article, which was entitled "Zikhron l'Rishonim," was reprinted in his *Bisdeh Sefer*, I (1921), 28-29.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Selig Glick's Hebrew dirge is reprinted in his volume, *Omer l'Tezeg* (Pittsburgh, 1914), p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> *Ha-Yehudi*, XIV (1910), issue of February 14.

<sup>16</sup> "L'Zekher Zev Wolf Schur," *Hadoar*, XV (1935), issue of December 6.

The book is largely devoted to an exposition of Judaism and of its superiority over Christianity and the other religions. In the final chapters the author turns his attention to internal problems, including anti-Semitism, Reform, and Zionism, and expounds his views in a nationalistic vein which clearly bears the influence of Peretz Smolenskin. There is, moreover, some similarity between Schur's views and those of Asher Ginzberg (Ahad Ha-am), even though Schur and Ginzberg are not always in agreement. In his Zionist thinking Schur became an avid disciple of Herzl and, with minor exceptions, a firm believer in the views expressed in Herzl's *Jewish State*.

Schur informed his readers in the opening issue of the second volume of *Ha-Pisgah* that he intended to publish his book on Judaism. In a leading article, dated May 19, 1890, he stated that he had revived his journal in order to answer effectively the arguments of the assimilationists. At the same time, he stressed that this could not be fully done within the confines of a periodical and that a more systematic exposition in book form was required. In a footnote he added: "I have such a book in manuscript, and it is entitled *Nezah Yisrael*. In our next issue I will inform the readers of its contents, and I hope that it will soon go to press."

Schur did not return to the subject of his book until a later date. In an editorial in the issue of July 25, 1890, he gave his impressions of a trip to various communities and recounted with horror his meetings in Rochester with *maskilim* who had taken up socialist and anarchist ideas and who negated religion and Jewish nationalism. In order to demonstrate that their anti-religious arguments were groundless, Schur began the publication of a chapter entitled "The Torah of Moses and the Prophets," in which he set out to show the rational basis for the belief in God and for the biblical laws. This chapter, with various additions by the author, was later incorporated into *Nezah Yisrael*.

As a supplement to the chapter, Schur published part of the introduction to his book in order more fully to explain its purpose. He stated that he had written the book in answer to the host of sincere Christians who invited the Jews to accept their faith, as well as to refute the arguments of the assimilationists. He was especially aroused, on the one hand, by the Christian Hebraist Franz Delitzsch's missionary pamphlet, *Ernste Fragen an die gebildete jüdische Religion* ("Serious Questions to Educated Members of the Jewish Religion"), published in Leipzig in 1888, and, on the other hand, by Baron Maurice de Hirsch's views in favor of assimilation as the Baron had expressed them in a newspaper interview. Schur also stressed that, in order to influence the Jewish nonbelievers, he had adopted a rational approach and had endeavored to show that Judaism was based not only on faith, but also on "understanding and knowledge, righteousness and justice."

An additional motive led to the publication of the book: the propaganda of the Reverend Mr. William A. Blackstone on behalf of the persecuted Russian Jews. Blackstone's proposal to convene an international conference to consider the "condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine," which was incorporated in a memorial to President Benjamin Harrison on March 5, 1891, had more than a humanitarian basis. Blackstone believed that the return of the Jews to Palestine would serve as a harbinger of the second coming of the Messiah, and this was the motivating reason for his Zionist activity.<sup>17</sup>

When word was received of the Reverend Mr. Blackstone's project, Schur was among those who greeted it enthusiastically. He devoted an editorial to it and made his own Hebrew translation of the memorial to the President. But before long he

<sup>17</sup> A copy of the memorial to President Benjamin Harrison is included in the Reverend Mr. William A. Blackstone's book, *Jesus Is Coming* (1908; available also in a Hebrew translation).

became aware of the missionary aspects of the project, and declared that the settlement of Palestine was a national matter and not necessarily a religious one. He then informed his readers of his decision to publish the first three chapters of his book, dealing with Christianity and its relation to Judaism. This, he felt, would unmask the motives of those Christian friends of the Jews who sought to convert the latter, and would serve as a rebuttal to the arguments of the missionaries.

Following a rationalistic approach, Schur endeavored to show that the biblical laws were based on logic and that even the Jewish concepts of God and revelation were grounded in reason. He adduced the Sabbath and labor laws as outstanding examples of the lofty ethical teachings of Judaism. By following such a line of thought, the author sought to win back those who had strayed into socialism.

The question of Reform is dealt with in the chapter "Shall We Remove the Old in Favor of the New?" In this chapter, drawn from an article, similarly entitled and published previously in *Ha-Pisgah*, Schur maintained that no agreement could be reached on the question until "we succeeded in establishing in Zion a spiritual and material center and in building there an academy for the study of both Torah and general wisdom."<sup>18</sup> He felt that while there was room for reforms, only a Sanhedrin of rabbis from all over the world could effect them. Owing, however, to the differences which divided the rabbis, this was unfeasible for the present. The needed reforms could come, therefore, only from an academy in Zion whose rabbinical graduates would be acceptable to Jews the world over.

<sup>18</sup> Schur reiterated this idea editorially in *Ha-Pisgah* (August 15, 1893), and called upon Orthodox Jewry to work for a "religious center" which would consist of a seminary for rabbis and teachers in Jerusalem. He felt, however, that the Orthodox Jews would not respond to his appeal, and therefore urged the Hovevé Zion Societies to take the initiative in raising funds for this purpose.

At the end of the above chapter, Schur touched upon Ahad Ha-am's views on Reform as expressed in his essay, *Dibré Shalom* ("Words of Peace," 1895). Schur sharply criticized Ahad Ha-am's differentiation between "reform of religion and development of religion." To Schur's mind, if reform was a denial of the faith, it mattered little whether it was called "reform" or "development." He himself saw the need for reform, but because there were none to effect it, "we must wait until the homeland is rebuilt."<sup>19</sup>

Schur's views on the "mission of Israel," on which he had also touched previously in a leading article in his journal, are outlined in the concluding chapter of his work. He pointed out that anti-Semitism existed not only in Europe, but that it had also struck root in predominantly Christian America. Logic dictated that "we can find rest only in a country of which we could justly demand that it open its gates to us. And only Zion shall be redeemed with justice, for it is the inheritance of our fathers" (p. 265). Another reason which he gave for Zionism was that it would enable the Jews to "remain faithful to our religion and to fulfill the mission of our prophets."

At the close of his analysis of the status of the Jews and the Zionist movement, Schur gives an enthusiastic account of Herzl's program in the *Jewish State*. Although he had been an adherent of the Hibbat Zion movement, he was able to appreciate the tremendous advances made by the concept of political Zionism. Yet, while accepting Herzl's ideas wholeheartedly, Schur did point to a number of flaws in the *Jewish State*. Among these flaws Schur counted Herzl's failure to list the Hebrew language as a unifying factor for world Jewry. Schur disagreed, moreover, with Herzl's contention that agriculture should be

<sup>19</sup> Schur also took Ahad Ha-am to task for his criticism of the First Zionist Congress. See his article in *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1897), issues of December 3rd and 10th.

secondary to commerce and industry. Nor did he approve of the fact that religion was neglected and that no provision was made for a Sanhedrin. Despite these flaws, Schur upheld Herzl's essential program against its critics in the assimilationist camp. Schur summarized his views on the "mission of Israel" in the following words:

If Israel has a mission, then it is to try to return to the land of its fathers as its own master and to establish the Torah of Moses and widen its laws in accordance with present-day conditions. This will also bring about a solution to the social question . . . for the Torah of Moses is basically and fundamentally social . . . (p. 272).

Schur envisioned still another duty for the future Jewish state: it was to serve as a medium through which the Jewish people could transmit Western ideas to the people of the East, just as previously it had brought the wisdom of the East to the West.

Upon the publication of *Nezah Yisrael*, there appeared in *Ha-Ibri*,<sup>20</sup> which continued publication during the close-down of *Ha-Pisgah*, a "Call to All Lovers of Hebrew" concerning the book. The "call," which was signed by Adolph M. Radin, second vice president of the Ohalé Shem Society, appealed to the readers to purchase the book and to support a fellow *Landsmann*.

A favorable review of the book was published by Simon Bernfeld in *Ha-Shiloah*,<sup>21</sup> but as one who held moderate Zionist views, Bernfeld could not support Schur's suggestion that Palestine be acquired with justice from Turkey. Nor could he concur in Schur's enthusiasm for Herzl's program. Rabbi Joseph H. Hertz had words of praise for Schur's efforts in the *American Hebrew*,<sup>22</sup> and spoke of the book as "one which deserves

<sup>20</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, April 2, 1897.

<sup>21</sup> *Ha-Shiloah*, I, 569-75.

<sup>22</sup> *American Hebrew*, LXI (1897), issue of September 24th.

to rank with the very best productions of the Jewish genius during the last quarter century." Among others who valued Schur's work were Mordecai Zev [Max] Raisin<sup>23</sup> and Bernard Drachman, who translated a specimen selection, on "The Sanitary Aspects of the Mosaic Legislation,"<sup>24</sup> from the book.

### III. ZIONIST ACTIVITY

Among the important sources for the history of Hibbat Zion and the beginnings of political Zionism in America are Schur's Hebrew weeklies *Ha-Pisgah* and *Ha-Tehiyah*. They contain much information on the activities of the various Zionist societies and on the problems which occupied the attention of their members during the 1890's and at the beginning of the twentieth century. After the advent of Herzl and the First Zionist Congress, many of the Zionist groups came to consider *Ha-Pisgah* as the "official Zionist organ."

Schur was among the dedicated servants of the Zionist ideal in America. His place as "one of the most important workers" in early American Zionism was recognized by Nahum Sokolow.<sup>25</sup> In Europe, Schur had been a friend of Hermann Schapira and had been close to Smolenskin, and after settling here he maintained contact with the heads of the Hibbat Zion movement and later with Herzl and Max Nordau. He was among those who agitated for American representation at the First Zionist Congress in Basel.

<sup>23</sup> See Mordecai Zev [Max] Raisin's article, "Sefat Eber v'Sifrutah ba'Amerika," *Ha-Shiloah*, VIII (1901-1902), reprinted in his *Dappim mi-Pinkaso Shel Rabbi* (New York, 1941). See also *Mi-Sefer Hayai* (New York, 1956), pp. 8-9.

<sup>24</sup> In *Neo-Hebraic Literature in America, Appendix to the Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Convention of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association* (1900), pp. 81-82, 134-37.

<sup>25</sup> See Nahum Sokolow's *Hibbath Zion* (London, 1935), p. 29.

When Schur arrived in America in 1888, he found in New York an active Hovevé Zion Society, which had been working for the support of the settlements and the acquisition of land in Palestine since 1884. Schur appealed to this group to aid him in his journalistic venture, and the committee which he had formed for *Ha-Pisgah* in December, 1888, was made up largely of its active members. In his memoirs, Benjamin L. Gordon recalls a meeting of the society which he attended in 1890 and at which Schur "spent most of the evening on the rostrum outlining plans for the promotion of Hebrew."<sup>26</sup>

Schur urged the Hovevé Zion groups to take on a wider program of activities. Upon receiving a letter from Zalmon D. Levontin, founder of the Palestinian settlement Petah Tikvah, suggesting the establishment of a commercial house in Palestine, Schur brought the full text of the communication to the attention of the societies.<sup>27</sup> At every opportunity he urged greater support of Hebrew and of a Hebrew organ of expression. We cannot determine how much aid he received, but on several occasions he expressed his thanks to the groups in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere for their help.

The pages of *Ha-Pisgah* reflected the issues which preoccupied the American Hovevé Zion. In 1890 the Hovevé Zion Society of New York was preparing to purchase some land in Palestine in order to establish a settlement. The Society, headed by Adam Rosenberg, urged the groups in other cities to participate in the purchase, and announced that it had already sent a sum of money to Paris for this purpose.<sup>28</sup> A proposal by the Society to send a delegation to Palestine met with the disapproval of

<sup>26</sup> See Benjamin L. Gordon, *Between Two Worlds: Memoirs of a Physician* (New York, 1952), pp. 146-47.

<sup>27</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1890), issue of May 9th.

<sup>28</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1890), issue of August 7th.



many Hovevé Zion members, but Schur was among those who lent his support to the idea.

When Schur moved to Baltimore, he continued his Zionist agitation by urging continually that land be purchased and the *Yishuv* [the Jewish community in Palestine] strengthened. Shortly after the founding of the Shavé Zion ["Returners to Zion"] Society in New York in 1891, he wrote a glowing editorial about the prospects of this first American society for settlement in Palestine. *Ha-Pisgah* regularly reported on the activities of the Shavé Zion, which soon established a second group.<sup>29</sup>

We learn about Schur's energetic efforts on behalf of Zionism in Baltimore from such local men as Moshe Falk Mervis<sup>30</sup> and David Panitz. The latter, in his pamphlet on Zionism, wrote that he found in Baltimore, on his arrival there in 1894, a society called the Hevrat Zion. As Panitz said, however, "the national idea was not unknown in Baltimore even prior to the founding of Hevrat Zion, for the Zionist writer Schur published in Baltimore the journal *Ha-Pisgah*. When the publisher of the Yiddish *Israelit* in Baltimore invited Schur to edit it, the spirit of *Ha-Pisgah* rested also upon the *Israelit*."

Even before the founding of the Hevrat Zion, an attempt was made in Baltimore to establish there a branch of Shavé Zion No. 2, and Schur worked to accomplish this. The New York society was headed by Moses Mintz and Ephraim Deinard, and Schur helped them to arrange an initial meeting in Baltimore. Among those who attended this meeting was Benjamin Szold, who later was the first speaker to address the new group. Despite Schur's prodding, however, the group did not last very long.

<sup>29</sup> A. R. Malachi, "Shavé Zion," *Hadoar*, XVII (1937).

<sup>30</sup> See Mervis, "L'Toldot ha-Zionut v'ha-Tenuah ha-Ivrit b'Baltimore," *Hadoar*, XXII (1942).

In Baltimore, Schur aided in the sale of Palestinian *etrogim* [citrons], a project of the New York Hovevé Zion. In Schur's unpublished letters to Deinard during the early part of 1892, we find various details concerning the sale of *etrogim* in Baltimore. Schur gave space in his journal to advertisements on the sale of Palestinian *etrogim*, and attacked the use of *etrogim* from Corfu.<sup>31</sup> He constantly stressed the need for the support of the farmers of Palestine. In his letters to Deinard, he urged that the New York Hovevé Zion unite against the Yiddish publisher Sarasohn and his son because of their equivocal stand on Hibbat Zion.

Schur constantly pointed to the role of Palestine as a center for world Jewry. In an editorial, published on May 14, 1891, he stated that while it was not feasible to bring all of suffering Jewry to Palestine, the Jewish communities the world over should consider themselves as "limbs of the body in the Holy Land. . . . The more strength the body will have, the more it will draw the limbs to itself." In other articles he further developed the idea of Zion as a religious center.

From Mordecai Ben Hillel Hakohen's letter addressed to the American Hovevé Zion through *Ha-Pisgah*,<sup>32</sup> it is evident that the European Zionists viewed Schur's journal as the organ and address of the movement in America. The author of the letter, a prominent Hebrew publicist, was keen enough to voice the opinion that even were Palestine to become the spiritual center of the Jews, their material center would still remain where the masses were: in America. He urged the American Hovevé Zion to support the Zionist executive in Jaffa in its plan to establish an agricultural school.

<sup>31</sup> The chief opponent of the use of Corfu *etrogim* was Deinard, whose pamphlet, *Milhamah la-Shem ba-Amalek* (1893), is devoted to this question.

<sup>32</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, III (1891), issue of August 7th. The letter is reprinted in the author's *Me-Erev Ad Erev* (Vilna, 1904), I, 295-99.

The Zionist leaders in Vienna also turned to the "great Hovevé Zion" spokesman Schur to give prominence to their call concerning the founding of a Zionist executive in that city. Schur published the call, signed by Reuben Brainin, Nathan Birnbaum, and others, and editorially urged the Hovevé Zion groups in New York, Boston, and Chicago to act favorably upon it.<sup>33</sup> After the First Zionist Congress, European Zionists often approached Schur. Herzl himself wrote him from time to time, asking for help in gaining American support for his plans.

An indication of Schur's Zionist views in the years that preceded Herzlian Zionism is to be found in his published Yiddish address, *Tisha b'Ab*, wherein he analyzed the status of the Jewish people and attributed its national decline to the weakening of Jewish observance, on the one hand, and to the desire on the part of assimilationists and reformists to ape the Christians, on the other. He urged his listeners to meet the threat of anti-Semitism in America by means of Zionist activity and by the gradual redemption of the Holy Land through settlement. At a time when Zionism was limited to small circles of devotees, Schur was among those who called for the intensification of the movement.

When Herzl's *Jewish State* appeared, Schur was without a journalistic platform of his own. However, because of Herzl's request that he urge the American Hovevé Zion to send delegates to the First Zionist Congress, he published an article on this subject in *Ha-Ibri*, on April 30, 1897, under the title, "The Progress of European Zionism." He addressed himself particularly to the Hevrat Zion in Baltimore and the Ohalé Shem in New York, and asked them for assurances in sending delegates. He argued that it would be a disgrace for the American Hovevé

<sup>33</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, III (1892), issue of January 9th.

Zion if no delegates were to go.<sup>34</sup> In his letters to Mervis of Baltimore, he urged him time and again to aid this cause, and expressed his own readiness to go as a delegate. The Baltimore Zionists finally decided to send Rabbi Schepsel Schaffer, the chairman of the local Hovevé Zion Society. Actually the only formal delegate from America,<sup>35</sup> Rabbi Schaffer was joined by Adam Rosenberg and by Rosa Sonneschein of St. Louis. Schur was dissatisfied with the choice of Schaffer, and wrote Mervis that he was prepared to go to Basel for half the sum which the trip would cost the Baltimore Hovevé Zion.

Schur also published a second article in *Ha-Ibri*, under the title, "Dr. Guedemann's Nationalistic Judaism" (vol. VII, pp. 34-36, June 4 and 13, 1897), in which he attacked Moritz Guedemann, the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, as an anti-Zionist and summarized Herzl's answer to him. In the latter part of this article Schur also criticized the anti-Zionist stand of the Reform theologian Kaufmann Kohler, who was at the time rabbi of Temple Beth-El in New York. In contradistinction to the pro-Zionist Reform rabbi, Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago, Rabbi Kohler had written against Herzl and Zionism in the *American Hebrew*.

The propaganda for the First Zionist Congress brought new life to Zionist activity in the United States. Schur responded to this quickening of the Zionist pulse by reviving *Ha-Pisgah* in October, 1897. A more vibrant note was sounded by him in his editorials and in his numerous surveys of Zionist activity, both here and abroad. *Ha-Pisgah* became once again the semi-official organ of the various Zionist societies, which supplied

<sup>34</sup> On the reaction of the American Zionists to the First Zionist Congress and Schur's activity, see A. R. Malachi, "Zioné Amerika ba-Congress ha-Rishon," *Hadoar*, XXVI (1946).

<sup>35</sup> See David Panitz, *Sefer Zikhronot Zion*, pp. 51-52.

the journal with news of their activities and gave it financial support.

The new spirit in American Zionism and the role of *Ha-Pisgah* in furthering it were stressed by Mordecai Zev [Max] Raisin in his article, "Zionist Observations."<sup>36</sup> "In America, too," Raisin wrote, "there is a Zionist movement. Here, too, we have Jews in whom the national feeling has not died. . . . The appearance of *Ha-Pisgah* now is a sign of new life in our national literature in America. . . . The publication of *Ha-Pisgah* now is timely indeed, for the lack of a basic Zionist organ is deeply felt in the ranks of American Zionists."

In response to Herzl's appeal, Schur informed Herzl that he had visited a number of cities and had helped organize Zionist societies.<sup>36a</sup> In Chicago he helped bring about the establishment of a society dedicated to political Zionism, with Bernard Horwich as president. In his memoirs, Horwich relates that Schur was among those who urged him to undertake the task.<sup>37</sup> The full name of the organization, which Horwich claimed to be "the first organized Zionist group in America," was "The Chicago Zionist Organization No. 1."<sup>38</sup> An outgrowth of this organization was the Order Knights of Zion, founded in 1898.

<sup>36</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1897), issue of October 29th.

<sup>36a</sup> I have recently obtained, from the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, four letters from Schur to Herzl dating from before the First Zionist Congress. In these letters Schur stressed the need for a Zionist organ in America, and described his activities in behalf of Herzl's program.

<sup>37</sup> See Bernard Horwich, *My First 80 Years* (Chicago, 1939), p. 230. Horwich erred in saying that Leon Zolotkoff of Chicago was elected a delegate to the First Zionist Congress; this mistake was repeated in various accounts of the history of American Zionism.

<sup>38</sup> This claim is accepted by various writers. Others credit the Ohavé Zion Society, founded in New York on June 29, 1897, with being the first modern Zionist organization which accepted Herzl's program. See Michal Aaronson, "Eltster Tsiyon-Fareyn Do Feiert Zein Yubiley," *Morgen Journal* (New York), December 11, 1952.

Schur supported the policies of Herzl and accepted the fusion of political Zionism with the Hibbat Zion movement. He stressed constantly that Zionism should be a means not only of political but also of spiritual redemption. Notwithstanding the similarity of some of his views to those of Ahad Ha-am, Schur criticized the Zionist thinker for his attitude towards political Zionism. In his weeklies Schur featured prominently the proceedings of the early Zionist congresses and gave much space to the Dreyfus case. Concerning Zionist relations with Turkey, Schur always urged a direct approach and believed that if the Jews offered economic aid to the Turks, the Sultan would support the Jewish aims in Palestine.

In Herzl and Nordau, Schur recognized two leaders. He held them in such esteem that, in his article on the Second Zionist Congress, he wrote that his hope of seeing the rebirth of the dead bones of his people — a hope which he had previously expressed in his *Nezah Yisrael* — had been fulfilled by these leaders. He published their speeches and gave space to their letters, urging the American Zionists to greater activity.<sup>39</sup>

Schur was among the early supporters of the Federation of American Zionists, headed by Richard J. H. Gottheil. When some of the veteran Hovevé Zion societies, led by Dr. Philip Klein and Joseph I. Bluestone, refused to accept the authority of the Federation, Schur advocated a policy of cooperation with the new central body. Because of this viewpoint, a number of societies protested against the journal. Various other Zionist

<sup>39</sup> Herzl's first letter to Schur was published on December 20, 1894, in *Ha-Pisgah*, and contained a request for support of the Colonial Bank. A cablegram from Herzl on the same subject appeared in the journal on March 24, 1899. Additional letters from Herzl were reprinted on July 7, 1900, and October 2, 1900, in *Ha-Tehiyah*. Upon receiving *Ha-Pisgah*, Nordau sent Schur a letter of encouragement to American Zionists, printed in *Ha-Pisgah* on November 27, 1897. Additional letters from Nordau appeared on March 25, 1898, in *Ha-Pisgah* and on March 30, 1900, in *Ha-Tehiyah*.

groups throughout the country reiterated, however, their support of *Ha-Pisgah* as their "official Zionist organ," and elected Schur to honorary membership.

Schur gave space to the Federation's call to its first convention, scheduled to take place in May, 1898.<sup>40</sup> He opposed the decision to postpone the convention because of the Spanish-American War and voiced his despair in a letter, dated June 4, 1898, to Zvi Hirsch Masliansky: "Since the beginning of the war the condition of *Ha-Pisgah* has worsened considerably. The subscribers have stopped sending money. And the Zionists? Do you believe that there are real Zionists in America? What have they done after all the tumult and noise? The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse."<sup>41</sup>

When the convention finally took place on July 4-5, 1898, Schur greeted it editorially, but pointed to its failure to emphasize the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture in the program. One of the tasks of the convention was to elect delegates to the Second Zionist Congress. Schur expressed his dissatisfaction over the choice of Kasriel Zvi Sarasohn as a delegate because he questioned Sarasohn's loyalty to Zionism.

When the differences between the Federation and the old-time Hovevé Zion continued unresolved, Schur suggested in *Ha-Pisgah* that the Federation be reorganized under Gottheil and Klein, as had been proposed by the Second Zionist Congress.<sup>42</sup> Two unpublished letters, dated October 17 and November 23, 1898, from Schur to Deinard cast light on this early phase of Zionist organizing activity. In both letters he was sharply critical of the Federation's leadership and suggested that the New York Hovevé Zion Society effect a change in its composition.

<sup>40</sup> For the text of the call, see *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1898), issues 23-27.

<sup>41</sup> *Igrot Sofrim*, p. 130.

<sup>42</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1898), issue of October 14th.

Schur expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Federation's second convention was to take place in June, 1899, outside of New York, in the city of Baltimore. Writing on May 25, 1899, to Benjamin L. Gordon, of Philadelphia, Schur said that he was planning to attend as a delegate and hoped that the convention would take counsel on how to improve the situation in American Zionism.<sup>43</sup> At the Baltimore convention Schur was chosen as Hebrew secretary and gave an address in Hebrew on the problem of education. He was elected to the executive of the Federation and was chosen as a delegate to the Third Zionist Congress. Schur was, however, unable to go as a delegate. Despite an appeal issued by the Chicago Zionists over the signature of Felsenthal and others for funds to finance Schur's trip, only a small sum was raised.<sup>44</sup>

Schur continued to urge the Federation to recognize *Ha-Pisgah* as its official organ. In a letter dated October 5, 1899, he asked Gordon to support this request. He was again elected a member of the Federation's executive at its convention, held in New York on June 11-12, 1900, and also was chosen as a delegate to the Fourth Zionist Congress.

In Chicago, Schur was among those who left the Hovevé Zion Society to form the new group called L'maan Zion ["For Zion's Sake"]. The organizers of the new group explained their action in a statement published in *Ha-Pisgah*.<sup>45</sup> They opposed sending a letter of congratulation to Sarasohn for "his great activities in behalf of Zion." Schur also strongly opposed Leon Zolotkoff, editor of the Chicago *Yidisher Courier* and ally of Sarasohn, since the activities of the Knights of Zion, the Zionist

<sup>43</sup> A. R. Malachi, "Mikhtevé Zev Schur l'Dr. B. L. Gordon," *Hadoar*, XIII (1933). See the first letter especially.

<sup>44</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, VI (1899), issues of June 30th and July 7th.

<sup>45</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1897), issue of December 24th.



order in which Zolotkoff held the position of general secretary, were repugnant to Schur.

The weekly *Ha-Tehiyah*, which began publication on November 9, 1899, as a continuation of *Ha-Pisgah*, also carried a regular section devoted to American Zionist activities. Since the Federation did not begin to issue the *Maccabaeen* until 1901, *Ha-Tehiyah*, like its predecessor, is an important source for the history of American Zionism. In a series of enthusiastic articles Schur continued his agitation in behalf of the Colonial Bank.

The issues of *Ha-Tehiyah* contain a full report on the Fourth Zionist Congress, held in London and attended by Schur as a delegate. On July 25, 1900, *Ha-Tehiyah* carried an account of the farewell meeting held for Schur before he left for the Congress, and a letter of greeting from Felsenthal, who had encouraged Schur in his journalistic activities throughout the years.

From Schur's letters to his journal concerning the Congress, as well as from the stenographic report of the proceedings, it is evident that Schur argued against Gottheil's assertion of the right of the Mid-Western Zionist groups to maintain their own federation, independent of the New York organization.<sup>46</sup> This was still another expression of the Mid-Western groups' reluctance to forego their autonomy completely in favor of the New York central body.

Upon his return from London, Schur reported on the Congress in New York, Chicago, and Des Moines. A few weeks later *Ha-Tehiyah* abruptly ceased publication because of the editor's sudden illness, from which he was not to recover.

<sup>46</sup> See *Ha-Tehiyah*, I (1900), issue of August 16th; also *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des IV Zionisten-Congresses in London* (Vienna, 1900), p. 181.

## IV. IMMIGRANT PROBLEMS

The second large wave of Jewish immigrants from Russia came to America at the beginning of the 1890's. A number of groups of "German" Jews rose to help the victims of persecution, and Schur, who had revived *Ha-Pisgah* in March, 1890, made the problem of immigrant aid one of the main concerns of his journal. He was among those who advocated the founding of the Jewish Alliance of America, whose purpose was to unite the East European Jews for the work of succor.

As a reaction to the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, various groups of German Jews, including such leading Reform rabbis as Solomon Schindler of Boston and Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, became vocal in their opposition to this immigration.<sup>47</sup> Schur was among those who challenged the "German" opposition and who defended East European Jewry from its detractors. To the English masthead of *Ha-Pisgah* he added the words: "It is the organ of the most intelligent class of the Jewish immigrants." At the same time, he did not fail to criticize his fellow East European Jews for their lack of order and organization.

At first Schur viewed the activities of the Baron de Hirsch Fund favorably and expressed the hope that it would engage also in educational work among the immigrants. Later he warned the unfortunate East European Jews not to place too much hope in the Fund. When the Association of Jewish Immigrants of Philadelphia was founded, *Ha-Pisgah* printed the organization's warnings to East European Jewry not to expect help from the Fund.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See A. Tscherikower, "How the American Jews Received the Russian-Jewish Immigration," *Geshikhte fun der Yiddisher Arbeter Bavegung in di Fareynikte Shtatn* (New York, 1943), I, 200-23.

<sup>48</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1890), issue of June 22nd.

Schur kept the cause of East European Jewry before the eyes of his readers. "We are opening the gates of *Ha-Pisgah* to this great issue," he stated in a leading article devoted to harassed Russian Jewry and calling on the East European Jews of New York and elsewhere to pool their efforts in one organization, so that they would neither require help from Baron de Hirsch nor have to hear the epithet "schnorrers" ["beggars"] from the German Jews. He urged Rabbi Jacob Joseph, of New York, and the other leading rabbis to issue a call for this purpose.<sup>49</sup>

Schur continued to urge his coreligionists to follow a policy of "self-help." When the Jews of Philadelphia organized the Jewish Alliance of America, Schur became one of its active supporters and urged the Jewish communities of other cities to form branches. *Ha-Pisgah* reflects the ups and downs of the Jewish Alliance, which, despite its short existence, laid the foundation for joint action of the East European and German Jews in behalf of persecuted Jewry.

Schur's journal carried the Jewish Alliance's call, dated August 11, 1890, and reported the organizational meeting held five days earlier in Philadelphia, where it had been decided to form a national alliance which would stress agricultural work for the immigrants. News of the activities of the societies for immigrant aid in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Cincinnati is found in the pages of Schur's journal. In addition, Schur published various articles and poems on the need for alleviating the lot of the persecuted.

To the objections of the Hovevé Zion that the activities of the Jewish Alliance would detract from the work for Zionism, Schur replied editorially that the two complemented each other.<sup>50</sup> By providing agricultural training, the Jewish Alliance would prepare people for eventual settlement in Palestine. He wrote:

<sup>49</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1890), issue of June 29th.

<sup>50</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1891), issue of January 1st.

If we have recently begun to support also the Jewish Alliance of America, whose aim it is to teach the immigrants agricultural work in America, let not our readers make the mistake of thinking that we have forsaken Zion. . . . We have spoken out for the idea of the Jewish Alliance of America because it has a great aim. . . . Its aim and the aim of Hovevé Zion are one and the same.

Before long, however, Schur's enthusiasm for the work of the Jewish Alliance waned. He began to take it to task for advocating the establishment of agricultural colonies for the immigrants, an aim which was beyond its means. He criticized it also for failing to protect the honor and rights of the East European Jews against their detractors. In his opinion, it was more useful to establish in each city societies which would aid the immigrants to obtain work and to enter trades. He attributed the failure of the Jewish Alliance to the East European elements in American Jewry which had not given it fullhearted support.

Public acknowledgment was made to Schur of his aid to the Jewish Alliance of America by its first president, Charles D. Spivak, at its founding convention. Spivak listed *Ha-Pisgah* among the newspapers which had rendered invaluable service to the organization.<sup>51</sup> In February, 1892, the Jewish Alliance was consolidated with the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Exiles, an organization which had won the support of the German Jews as well.

The strained relations between the East European and the German Jews are amply reflected in the pages of *Ha-Pisgah*. Rabbi Solomon Schindler's anti-immigration articles and public statements in Boston were but one indication of the opposition on the part of some Reform rabbis. Schur fought Schindler's views and rallied some of the more liberal-minded Reform rabbis to the defense of the East European Jews. While Schindler

<sup>51</sup> See *Constitution of the Jewish Alliance of America and Abstract of the Proceedings of the First Convention of the Alliance, held in Philadelphia, February 15, 1891*, p. 22.

was the subject of Schur's choicest epithets, Isaac M. Wise and others did not go unscathed. Schur kept up a running attack on Schindler and made him the subject of some of his sharpest editorials. As justification for his attacks on the rabbi, Schur reprinted from the Boston *Herald* Schindler's address, "Should Palestine Be Returned to the Jews?"<sup>52</sup>

In an appeal "To the German Rabbis in America," Schur urged that they rise up to defend the good name of East European Jewry.<sup>53</sup> He turned especially to Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago, Dr. Alexander Kohut of New York, Dr. Marcus Jastrow of Philadelphia, Dr. Solomon H. Sonneschein of St. Louis, Dr. Benjamin Szold of Baltimore, and a few others, asking them to denounce Rabbi Schindler's statements. Schur wrote: "All of you know the Bible and Hebrew literature in the original and not through translation, and you know also what the Jewish inhabitants of Russia have accomplished in the field of Hebrew literature during the last fifty years. You know the East European Jews, their character and qualities, because you have had contact with them. Arise and state publicly your opinion of them." In a later issue Schur printed the sympathetic replies received from Rabbis Kohut, Szold, and Felsenthal.

Schur spoke out also against Reform, which he viewed as a danger to the future of American Judaism and as a force for national assimilation.<sup>54</sup> He put his faith in the Judaism practiced by the East European Jewry — a Judaism which, he believed, required refinement rather than reform. Time and again he urged the East European Jewish intellectuals to establish a rabbinical seminary which would produce men of both basic

<sup>52</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1891), issue of April 17th.

<sup>53</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1891), issue of April 10th.

<sup>54</sup> For Schur's views against Reform, see Chayim M. Rothblatt, "Ha-Itonut ha-Ivrit b'Chicago," *The Chicago Pinkas*, ed. Simon Rawidowicz (1952), pp. 45-47.

Jewish and general knowledge. Schur felt that American rabbis, in addition to knowing the ancient sources, should be at home also in modern Hebrew.

Although Schur constantly championed the cause of the East European Jews, he unceasingly reminded them of their failings and shortcomings. In the first volume of his journal he was critical of the management of *kashrut* [kosher food] in New York by Rabbi Jacob Joseph, and of the educational standards in that city.<sup>55</sup> He decried the fact that the East European Jews were dependent upon the philanthropy of German Jews and that they had not even one decent welfare society of their own. On various occasions he analyzed the basic reasons for the division between Jews of German and East European origin, and castigated his fellow Jews for the disorder in their ranks. He did not feel that, under the prevailing conditions, he could advise Russian Jews to make their home in America.

Schur's attitude towards America was negative. "America is a rich and fruitful country in which ample bread is to be found, but only physical, not spiritual bread," he wrote in an editorial on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. He greatly feared the rise of anti-Semitism and the enactment of anti-immigration laws. The Russian American Jewish scholar, Judah David Eisenstein, of New York, took a more optimistic view of the Jewish position in America, which he expressed in a letter to *Ha-Pisgah*.<sup>56</sup> While Schur admitted, in an editorial note to Eisenstein's letter, that America was not like Russia, he still felt the danger of anti-Semitism to be imminent. Nevertheless, on occasion, he did express his faith that the spark of American Judaism could be fanned into a flame, if properly nurtured.

<sup>55</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, I (1888), issue of October 12th.

<sup>56</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, III (1891), issue of June 11th.

Schur's fullest presentation of his views on American Jewish life is found in his article, "Come, Let Us Search Our Ways," which appeared serially in the fourth volume of his journal.<sup>57</sup> He analyzed the character of the several waves of Jewish immigration, and painted a frank and realistic picture of the status of the East European Jews in this country. According to Schur, the squalor and poverty of their life were among the chief factors inducing anti-Semitism.

"Why haven't our brethren from Russia and Poland known how to make proper use of American freedom?" asked Schur. In answer to this question, he attributed their condition to the low state of Yiddish journalism and the meager accomplishments of Jewish education.<sup>58</sup> He expressed concern over the large numbers of children who, growing up without any education, were sent out peddling or into the sweatshops. The plethora of societies and small congregations, he felt, did not add to the glory of the American Jewish community. Nor was the rabbinate, to his mind, an effective instrument in leading the people.

Once more Schur minced no words in blaming the East European Jews themselves for their sad lot. Castigating those who were already well-established for not helping the newcomers, Schur insisted that "a large share of the hatred of the Americans for the Jews of Russia and Poland could be blamed on themselves and not on the Americans."

In his periodicals Schur expressed constant concern for the fate of Hebrew writers and of Hebrew literature in America. The editorials, literary information, and appeals which he published offer documentary evidence of the dire economic

<sup>57</sup> *Ha-Pisgah*, II (1891), issues of June 5th-July 3rd, July 17th, and July 31st.

<sup>58</sup> Schur later suggested that the Hebrew teachers unite into a federation and adopt a uniform curriculum. He urged the teachers in New York to issue a call for a general meeting. See his editorial in *Ha-Pisgah*, V (1897), issue of November 19th.

plight of the Hebrew writers during the 1890's and at the beginning of the twentieth century. The sufferings of the poets Menahem Mendel Dolitzky and Isaac Rabinowitz, of the grammarian Moses Ha-Kohen Reicherson, and of the scholar Abraham Dov Dobsevege [Dobsewitch] were subjects to which Schur returned time and again. In one editorial he declared: "In this country the fate of the Hebrew writer is worse than that of the hewer of wood and the drawer of water in Russia." In order to strengthen the position of Hebrew writers in America, Schur suggested the establishment of a Hebrew writers' association along the lines of the one set up in Europe at the Third Zionist Congress.

Schur sympathized with the lot of his fellow writers, for he himself epitomized their struggle for economic survival. When he was forced by sickness to cease his journalistic activity, he lost his meager source of income. He was the son of a generation of immigrants who endeavored to turn the tide of materialism and to focus attention upon the Hebrew language and literature and upon the spiritual aspects of American Jewish life. As a pioneer of Hebrew journalism and of our national ideal, Schur stands out as a symbol of unparalleled devotion to Hebraism and Zionism in America.



# The Human Record:

## Cyrus Adler at the Peace Conference, 1919

MOSHE DAVIS

The outline of this paper was originally presented at the special session on Philadelphia History at the fifty-second Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, in February, 1954, at the suggestion of Professor Salo W. Baron, then president of the Society, thus marking the ninetytieth anniversary of Cyrus Adler's birth on September 13, 1863. In publishing the full paper in this *Festschrift*, honoring Professor Jacob R. Marcus, I wish also to express my gratitude to him for his friendship and guidance.

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THE FOUR months which Cyrus Adler spent in Paris in the spring of 1919 are but a small time-segment of his rich and eventful life. Yet they represent one of the most significant periods in his career: four months of unremitting labor as representative of the American Jewish Committee and associate of Louis Marshall at the Peace Conference, months of intricate planning and discussion with the representatives of the ravaged and suffering European Jewish communities and of supreme dedication to the "emancipation of the Jews of Eastern Europe." Out of this experience, Cyrus Adler, American Jewish educator and administrator, emerged as Cyrus Adler, defender of Jewish rights and liberties everywhere.

Dr. Moshe Davis is the Provost of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, N. Y.

Dr. Adler left two records of his service in Europe. The first, "a working record," is arranged in three sections: diary, memoranda, and correspondence.<sup>1</sup> The typescript, which exists in several copies, was deposited with the American Jewish Committee, and is still unpublished. It has, however, been used extensively by many scholars who subsequently wrote on the Jews at the Peace Conference and on other phases of modern Jewish history.<sup>2</sup>

But Adler composed also another documentary of those historic days, a documentary which he chose to call "the human one." This personal statement was embodied in the daily letters which Adler wrote home to his wife, Racie. With the permission of his daughter, Mrs. Wolfe Wolfensohn, we herewith publish edited portions of those letters.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part I (pp. 1-73) is called "Diary of Doctor Cyrus Adler" (March 24 to July 10, 1919); Part II (pp. 74-283) consists of "Minutes of Conferences, Drafts of Clauses, Memorials, etc.;" Part III, "Correspondence," includes letters of Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover, Ignace Jan Paderewski, Robert Lansing, Lewis L. Strauss, Henry Morgenthau, and others.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest utilization of the "Diary" is found in Oscar I. Janowsky, *The Jews and Minority Rights: 1898-1919* (New York, 1933). Portions of the "Diary" were incorporated also in Adler's autobiography, *I Have Considered the Days* (Philadelphia, 1941), and in Abraham A. Neuman's *Cyrus Adler, a Biographical Sketch* (New York, 1942).

A more recent history of the Peace Conference, in which Adler's record was consulted, is Joseph Tenenbaum's volume in Yiddish, *Tzvisnen Milchomeh un Sholom [Between War and Peace]* (Buenos Aires, 1956). Dr. Tenenbaum was a member of the Polish Jewish Delegation, and wrote from the vantage point of the East European group, the view which prevailed at the Conference.

<sup>3</sup> Altogether, Dr. Adler sent 101 letters; what is published here is but a fraction of the material. The "Letters" include many intimate family matters and highly personal reports. I am, therefore, deeply grateful to Mrs. Wolfensohn, who entrusted these precious documents to me and gave me a free hand to make my own selection. In this highly selective edition of the "Letters," my basic consideration was to extract those portions which are historically or biographically pertinent, and to try to arrange them in a continuing and unified account. The changes made in the text of the "Letters" were to correct the few slips in the spelling, to standardize the notations, and to correct obvious hurried errors in punctuation.

Studied in juxtaposition, the second record not only brings completeness to the first; it also reveals the true character of Adler's service to his people and his deep sense of commitment to its needs. Indeed, it presents a new Cyrus Adler, a person whom we do not know from his writings and addresses, or even from his autobiography. The distinction once drawn by Charles Francis Adams "between the materials for a history of action and those for one of feeling" applies precisely to the two records which Adler left us.<sup>4</sup> In the public record, the facts speak, the individual is underplayed, the act itself is all-important. In the private record, reaction is the key, feeling is paramount; there is no intention to communicate all the facts, nor is this even necessary.

What Adams has to say on this subject is of such striking pertinence to our study and is so remarkably appropriate to Adler's "human record" that it is worthwhile to consider the entire passage:

Our history is for the most part wrapped up in the forms of office. The great men . . . are seen, for the most part, when conscious that they are acting upon a theatre, where individual sentiment must sometimes be disguised, and often sacrificed, for the public good. Statesmen and generals rarely say all they think or feel. The consequence is, that, in the papers which come from them, they are made to assume a uniform of grave hue, which, though it doubtless exalts the opinion later generations may entertain of their perfections, somewhat diminishes the interest with which they study their character. . . . We look for the workings of the heart, when those of the head alone are presented to us. We watch the emotions of the spirit, and yet find clear traces only of the reasoning of the intellect. The solitary meditation, the confidential whisper to a friend, never meant to reach the ear of the multitude, the secret wishes, not to be blazoned forth to catch applause, the fluctuations between fear and hope, that most betray the springs of action—these are the guides to character. . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams*, with an Introductory Memoir by her grandson, Charles Francis Adams, fourth edition (Boston, 1848), p. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

The "Letters" offer a new guide to Adler's character. Aspects of his personality known only to his intimates, his reflections scrupulously withheld throughout the years, are revealed in the "Letters." And they breathe spirit into the flesh and bones of the formal record.

It is not our purpose in this introductory statement to describe the events leading to the final success of the Committee of Jewish Delegations as measured by the Polish Minorities Treaty and the other treaties in which the Jews were given religious and linguistic rights. Nor are we here concerned with an evaluation of the general procedure and results in the light of subsequent history.<sup>6</sup> Our focus is on Cyrus Adler. But some brief background remarks are necessary to place the "Letters" in perspective.

Paris in the spring of 1919 was cold and cynical. It was crowded with soldiers and diplomats. Although they did not often express it, people felt that a new era of shameless self-interest had come upon them. As Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, recalled:

President Wilson's gallant appeal . . . meant little to the imagination or the hearts of a large number of the so-called statesmen who gathered in Paris to assemble a treaty of so-called peace in 1919. I saw that with my own eyes. I heard that with my own ears. Political profit, personal prestige, national aggrandizement, attended the birth of the League of Nations, and handicapped it from its infancy.<sup>7</sup>

Herbert Hoover described the mood in more graphic language: "The wolf is at the door of the world."

This was the setting in which the respective Jewish delegations

<sup>6</sup> For a summary of the work of the Peace Conference and the Minorities Treaties in relation to Jewish rights, see A. Gorali, *Sheelat Hamiut Hayehudi Bechever Haleumim* [*The Problem of the Jewish Minority in the League of Nations*] (Jerusalem, 1952), Part I, "Treaties of Protection of Minorities," pp. 11-34.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston, 1954), p. 3.

convened in Paris. They were no less divided among themselves than the victors who had gathered to apportion the war's spoils. It had been agreed earlier among the various Jewish representatives that the Palestine question should be clearly dissociated from the minority rights issue. On that score argument had been eliminated in advance.<sup>8</sup> But even concerning the demands for minority rights, the eastern and western groups were divided. The first sought national minority status for the Jews; the latter thought that special political guarantees would be harmful.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, after much dissension and bickering, necessity as well as underlying devotion to common ends created a mood for joint action, and a compromise formula was adopted. The urgent purpose of the Jewish delegations was always before them: the emancipation of East European Jewry. Adler, too, saw the attainment of this goal as his sole objective in coming, and he never swerved from it.

Adler actually had not wanted to go to Paris. His responsibilities at Dropsie College and at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America weighed heavily upon him. Nor did he wish to leave his family. This separation, in fact, was his greatest trial abroad. Nevertheless, his duty was clear. He was vice president of the American Jewish Committee and chairman of its Executive Committee. Adler had opposed the formation of the American Jewish Congress in December, 1918. But once it was organized, its existence and influence could not be denied. When it became clear that the Congress leadership would be fully represented in Paris, the American Jewish Committee felt it necessary that

<sup>8</sup> For the background and development of the Zionist presentation at the Conference, see Selig Adler, "The Palestine Question in the Wilson Era," *Jewish Social Studies*, X (October, 1948), 303-34.

<sup>9</sup> See Tenenbaum, chapters V and VI ("The Jewish Peace Representatives in Conflict" and "Committees and Little Committees"), pp. 60-93.

its representatives also should be present.<sup>10</sup> Reluctantly, Adler agreed to the Committee's decision that he go to Europe "to cooperate in respect to securing full rights for the Jews in all lands where such rights are denied."<sup>11</sup> As he wrote to Louis Marshall: "My present willingness to go is . . . based more upon the insistence of Mr. [Jacob H.] Schiff and yourself, than upon my judgement."<sup>12</sup>

The relationship between Marshall and Adler was one of friendship and mutual reliance. They traveled together and worked side by side throughout the months of feverish activity. And they were the last two members of the American group to leave. Marshall, of course, emerged as the giant figure of the Jewish delegations and was their spokesman.<sup>13</sup> Yet Marshall was always mindful of the strong support which Adler gave to his decisions, and of the persuasive role which he played in them.<sup>14</sup> Writing to Jacob H. Schiff in 1920, and recalling an incident at the Conference, Marshall indicated that his acceptance of the presidency of the Committee of Jewish Delegations was "with the concurrence of Dr. Adler."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See *Louis Marshall: Champion of Liberty*, ed. Charles Reznikoff (Philadelphia, 1957), II, 538-40.

<sup>11</sup> "Adler Papers," Louis Marshall to Cyrus Adler (January 23, 1919). Other communications in the "Papers" relating to the conversations between Marshall, Schiff, and Adler are as follows: Adler to Marshall (November 19, 1918); Adler to Marshall (January 20, 1919); Marshall to Adler (January 23, 1919); Marshall's certification of Adler's credentials (February 8, 1919).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, January 27, 1919.

<sup>13</sup> See Cyrus Adler, "Louis Marshall," in *Lectures, Selected Papers and Addresses* (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> Adler was instrumental in bringing Marshall and Judge Mack together, thus establishing the basis for a unified approach in the Delegations. "Diary," p. 7; "Letters" (March 28). See also Janowsky, p. 291.

<sup>15</sup> Louis Marshall to Jacob H. Schiff (January 22, 1920). From the Louis Marshall Collection of the American Jewish Archives, with the permission of Mr. Marshall's family. I am grateful to Charles Reznikoff, editor of the Marshall papers, and to Morris Fine, of the American Jewish Committee, with both of whom I consulted,

Marshall and Adler regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as a team. Lewis L. Strauss, who is mentioned several times in the "Letters" in most glowing terms, and who served as secretary to Herbert Hoover, couples the two in a brief reminiscence:

The events of those days made a deep impression upon me. . . . Dr. Adler and Louis Marshall were in Paris together and accomplished an unbelievable service for minority groups the world over. Their patience in listening for days on end to long harangues and arguments, their perseverance in the face of great odds, their great force and accompanying gentleness and humanity surpassed anything I have ever since experienced. Truly, there were giants in those days. . . .<sup>16</sup>

While, as Strauss indicates, the immediate tasks of the Conference required infinite patience and long hours of devoted attention, Adler nonetheless found the time to fulfill all the other obligations which he had assumed. High on his daily agenda was the urgent and immediate need to bring relief to the war-stricken. From the moment he arrived in London and through the months ahead, he was in close contact with the European work of the Joint Distribution Committee. He met with Eliezer Sigfried Hoofien, the J.D.C. representative, and worked with the delegations from Roumania and Galicia, Poland and Palestine.<sup>17</sup> Some of the happier activities connected with his Jewish Welfare Board responsibilities are described in the "Letters"; and the "Diary" records the meeting to solve the problem of locating the Russian Jewish soldiers who had been taken prisoners and who were then in Paris.<sup>18</sup>

regarding the Marshall-Adler correspondence. For other Marshall references to this association, see *Louis Marshall: Champion of Liberty*, II, pp. 549-51, 553, 563-64, 568-69.

<sup>16</sup> Lewis L. Strauss to Moshe Davis (February 11, 1954).

<sup>17</sup> "Diary" (March 26; April 3, 4, 11), pp. 5, 12-13, 15, 20.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* (March 30), p. 10. See also Cyrus Adler, "Origin of the Jewish Welfare Board," in *Lectures, Selected Papers and Addresses*, pp. 227-28.

Besides the tasks of Jewish statesmanship and relief activities, there were other duties which derived from Adler's wide cultural and personal interests. He counselled Harry Schneiderman, then editor of the *American Jewish Year Book*, on the publication of the twenty-first volume, and secured the material on the Peace Conference which was included.<sup>19</sup> Adler carried about with him the proof sheets of Simon Dubnow's *History of the Jews of Russia and Poland*, which was to be issued by the Jewish Publication Society. This book, it turned out, was very helpful in an immediate and practical way. As Adler tells us in his autobiography, he gave it to Arthur Lehman Goodhart, the legal advisor to the Morgenthau Commission to Poland, who thus acquired authentic background information for his assignment.<sup>20</sup>

Describing his work in Paris, Adler wrote that he had no leisure, "but it was a different sort of work, 'conversations' in polyglot."<sup>21</sup> A parade of personalities moves through the "Letters" and "Diary"; he met quite literally with hundreds of people, not only with cultural and political leaders, but also with friends from home, "students and soldiers." His happiest hours were his wanderings among the bookstalls or when he could find children to play with. Out of the blue, in one of his "Letters," comes the seemingly irrelevant remark: "I see few children hereabouts."<sup>22</sup> This is another reflection of his homesickness.

Moving, too, are the reflections which pressed in upon him as he walked the streets of Paris. "When I felt the rain and cold today standing around the stations at Havre and Paris I realize what the soldiers had to stand, and think none of us ought ever

<sup>19</sup> "Diary," pp. 349-54.

<sup>20</sup> *I Have Considered the Days*, p. 319.

<sup>21</sup> "Letters" (March 30).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* (April 6).



o complain of our discomforts.”<sup>23</sup> Or this one: “In happier lays you, Sarah, and I must see it together . . . but this is no time to travel for pleasure.”<sup>24</sup>

Writing home, Adler often tried to make a case for his “im-merturbability.” But the “Letters” disclose that this was a surface mood. Deep down, and inside, he was shaken, as at the *Kaddish* at the service in the synagogue at Rue Victoire,<sup>25</sup> or in his lament: “The reports from Eastern Europe are worse and worse.”<sup>26</sup> The saddening experience of human anguish brought forth the quiet prayer for his wife: “I want you to be in a position to *enjoy* life in this rejuvenated world.”<sup>27</sup>

Late in April, Adler recorded: “Things look promising for . . . great charter of liberty for the Jewish people.”<sup>28</sup> But it took several more months before “the Olympians,” as he always referred to the heads of the governments, could agree on specific formulations. Finally the great day came. Victory was written into a document, and the document was hailed as a milestone in the struggle for human rights and liberties. In a letter to Boris D. Bogen, who was then in Poland, Marshall, Adler, and Nahum Sokolow, the three men representing the formerly divergent “West and East” camps of the Jewish delegations, united to express their satisfaction with the treaty entered into between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland.

It is our firm belief that these treaties have at last absolved the Jews of Eastern Europe from the serious disabilities from which they have so long suffered and will forever end the grave abuse of the past. They

<sup>23</sup> “Letters” (March 27).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* (March 25).

<sup>25</sup> *Infra*, Letter of Sunday, March 30, 1919.

<sup>26</sup> *Infra*, Letter of March 31.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* (June 14).

<sup>28</sup> “Diary” (April 23).

will enable the Jews as well as all other minorities to live their own lives and to develop their own culture. . . .<sup>29</sup>

These men and their associates in the Jewish delegations were not prophets. Later history frustrated their work and their dreams.<sup>30</sup> But if they were not prophets, they were, indeed, the children of prophets. It was their obligation to meet the duties of their time and hour. Theirs was the task of uniting world Jewry, of seeking a way in which Jews everywhere could devote themselves in freedom to their cultural and spiritual heritage. This task they performed nobly.

While they had not gone to Versailles for the actual signing of the Treaty — it was the Sabbath, June 28th — Marshall and Adler heard it announced in Paris by the boom of the guns. Political emancipation for the East European Jews had been achieved. The time had come to turn from the needs of the Jews in Europe to those of the Jewish community in America. They began to plan for the future. They agreed to devote themselves to Jewish education.

This solemn decision is briefly recorded in Adler's autobiography.<sup>31</sup> It was confirmed in a letter which Marshall sent to Jacob H. Schiff immediately upon their return:

Dr. Adler and I discussed these points while we were abroad. We are both of us agreed that now that the question of Jewish emancipation

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

<sup>30</sup> In his autobiography, Adler later wrote: "I felt at that time, and I am sure Mr. Marshall did too, that the Charter of Rights . . . in the Polish Treaty was one of the greatest achievements of the Conference from our point of view. We were not so shortsighted as to think that the benefits would inure to the Jews of Poland at once. I wrote at the time that I felt it would take at least twenty-five years before the benefits would fully accrue to the Jews of Poland. At the time of the present writing twenty years have passed. The intervening ones have not been very good. I hope that my prophecy about the twenty-five years will still prove true." [*I Have Considered the Days*, p. 324.]

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

will soon be disposed of, at least to the extent that treaties and constitutions can do so, the next great problem of American Jewry is to take up in a comprehensive manner the subject of Jewish education, not only insofar as it relates to higher learning, but especially with regard to primary and elementary schools.<sup>32</sup>

Fully cognizant of the importance of this decision, Adler returned home determined to help bring it to fruition. In the decades which followed he worked tirelessly for many noble ends. Yet the experiences in Paris during those four months never left him. There he had seen the ineradicable scars of human suffering. There he had come to understand, at the source, the motivations and strivings of his brethren in European lands. And there, above all, he had conquered his own preconceptions. He had worked for a meeting of divergent minds, to bring agreement out of dissension, so that, henceforth, he and his brothers could dwell together in unity.

## The Letters

Sunday, March 16, 1919, 3:30 P.M.

R. M. S. *Caronia*.

We had Shabbos dinner in my cabin yesterday — bread, tongue, and fruit. I said the prayers and it gave me a better feeling than being in the dining room.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Louis Marshall Collection (August 14, 1919).

<sup>33</sup> "We were booked to sail on March 10th but owing to the Harbor strike did not leave till Wednesday, March 12th, at 2 P.M. The *Caronia* put into Halifax for coal on Friday, March 14th, and sailed on Sunday, March 16th, arriving at Liverpool Sunday, March 23d. After the formalities connected with landing, we took the 3:55 train for London, arriving there about 9 P.M., and were fortunate enough to secure very comfortable quarters at the Carlton, in spite of the crowded condition of London." ["Diary," p. 1.]

London, Tuesday, March 25, [19]19, 11 P.M.

... we went to Elkan Adler's to dinner ... we had a good talk and saw Elkan Adler's wonderful library.<sup>34</sup> He is a bachelor who lives in a perfectly enormous house. This was the first meat meal I have had, but I have not felt the want of it. ...

Paris, Sunday, March 30, [19]19.

... we went to the synagogue at the Rue Victoire [Friday evening, March 28th]. I am sure you remember the grandeur of the building. The hazan has a beautiful voice and the choir of several dozen small boys and a few men was most impressive. Four rabbis were at their stations, including Israel Lévi, the Grand Rabbi of France. Most impressive of all was the congregation. There were certainly a thousand persons present, and nearly every woman was in mourning. Hundreds of men rose to say Kaddish. They all stood together on the almemar. This congregation gave me a more forcible idea of what France had suffered than anything I have read. It was very pathetic.

March 31, 1919, midnight.

.... I hope we are making progress toward a union of forces, but it is slow work, just as the big Conference is also slow. Possibly it is best when there are so many diverse interests and people; haste would be inadvisable even if possible.<sup>35</sup>

One hears a great deal of pessimistic talk, but it is difficult to say what that amounts to .... I can't say that the work is exhilarating so far, but it was so very necessary that we should come that I don't believe you would have forgiven me if I had not come, and I could not have forgiven myself.

<sup>34</sup> "Mr. Adler, while not a Zionist, indicated his pro-Palestinian attitude, agreeing with the position which the American Jewish Committee has taken." [*Ibid.*, p. 2.]

<sup>35</sup> See "Proceedings of a Meeting of Representatives of Jewish Organizations of Various Countries" (Sunday, March 30, 1919), "Diary," Part II, pp. 74-90.

None of the relief party<sup>36</sup> has shown up yet but will tomorrow. The reports from Eastern Europe are worse and worse. Five of our people are now in Poland. . . .

Wednesday, April 2, 1919.

I spend some time writing each day as I am keeping a brief, but I hope accurate, record of what is going on here, so far as it comes within my own ken.

Thursday, April 3, [19]19.

This afternoon we went to the Red Cross to look after mandates received by cable from the Joint Distribution Committee. The officers there were most kind and sympathetic. An entirely new condition has broken out in Poland which dwarfs all questions of relief: an epidemic of typhus. There are said to be one hundred thousand cases.

Walking back I met Dr. Haffkine,<sup>37</sup> whom I consider one of the ablest and most charming men of our entire group. He came back to the hotel with me, and as he lived in India for twenty years and has become quite English, I martyred myself by drinking tea with him. . . .

Sunday, April 6 [1919], 1:30 A.M.

You see what bad hours I am keeping, but I have come from a full meeting at the *Consistoire* [the headquarters of French

<sup>36</sup> Representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee.

<sup>37</sup> Dr. Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine was largely responsible for the formation of the *Comité de Juifs de Paris Descendants de Juifs de l'Europe Orientale*. As the long name indicates, this Committee, known as the Haffkine Committee, separated itself from the official representatives of Russian Jewry. The *Comité* addressed the Peace Conference on May 15, 1919, using the word "minority" rights instead of "national" rights. Nevertheless, it followed the policy of the Committee of Jewish Delegations. See "Diary," p. 13; Janowsky, pp. 296, 350.

Jewry]. This is the gathering we have been aiming at. Another takes place at eight this Sunday night.

This morning (I mean Saturday) I went alone to the Portuguese synagogue in the Rue Buffault. They have an organ, a boys' choir, and a good deal of ceremony. None of their melodies were familiar to me, but of course the service was. It was over at 10:30.

Sunday, April 6, [19]19.

This is another beautiful day and mild. After studying a lot of papers that had to do with Palestine relief, we actually treated ourselves to an hour's walk through the *Jardin des Tuileries* and along the Seine. It was beautiful and the hundreds upon hundreds of captured German cannons were a good sight.

Monday, 2 A.M. Just back from a full meeting which began at 8 P.M. at which twenty speeches were made in at least four different languages. This is the last of these lengthy discussions, I think. Whether we have paved the way for a real union I do not know, but at least we have tried.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See "Memorandum of the Proceedings of a Meeting of Representatives of Jewish Organizations of Various Countries Held at the Salle du Consistoire Israélite, Rue de La Victoire" (Saturday, April 5th, and Sunday, April 6th, 1919), "Diary," Part II, pp. 91-115.

Dr. Adler's view is reported on pp. 105-6:

Doctor Adler stated that nearly all the previous speakers had drawn a sharp line between the East and the West. He could say without the slightest hesitation that no such line exists for him. Whether we say *Kol Yisrael Ahim* (and none can fight so bitterly as brothers) or *Kol Yisrael Haberim* (he preferred the latter because it is an expression of will and indicates greater likelihood of getting on together), we must try to secure full rights. An agreement was of the greatest importance. If two, four, or six projects are handed in to the Conference they are likely to be examined by men less competent to deal with them than the gentlemen present. These men would be likely to strike out disagreements in the various projects and leave a colorless and useless document. Is the historic position of the Jews of Poland one of choice or necessity? He believed their greatest desire would have been for centuries to free themselves from the conditions imposed upon them by Poles and Russians. Yet, if the Eastern Jews would take the responsibility of insisting that they get rights different from those of the other Jews, he was ready to support them. They should consider that whatever they did would affect 3,300,000 Jews in America,

April 7, 1919 (Monday).

At the meeting last night, I made a brief address (one of twenty), but the forces that are at play in this place are not disposed to reason; each has his own idea and must have all or nothing. I do not suppose this state of mind will last, but just at present the attitudes of the various peoples are as little to be composed as the ocean in a storm. Maybe we will have a calm later on.

The relief work is a sure thing at least. We were arranging this morning to purchase from the Army shoes, underwear, socks, and stuff to be made up into women's and children's clothes to be sent to Poland. Mr. Marshall and I had decided to spend \$100,000.00 on this and only a few minutes ago I got word that Lord Swaythling<sup>39</sup> had telegraphed £40,000.00 for the same purpose. Dr. Bogen<sup>40</sup> and four others are in Poland now to distribute what is sent, and the Hoover administration furnishes the cars for transportation.

three-fourths of whom had come in the last forty years. He preferred a formula giving the Jews all rights granted any other section of the population. Such a formula, omitting the phrase "national rights" but securing them where other nations did, would secure rights for the East without injuring the West. He did not wish to judge for others but did not wish others to judge for those he represented. It was well known that Jews had frequently been called a nation in the Western world. At one time, before the readmission of the Jews to England, the Sephardic Jews there were known as the Portuguese nation. The Indian tribes in America are called nations and are so designated in treaties made with them by the United States. Whenever the Western world used the word nation, however, it implied the adjective foreign, and meant that those so designated did not form part of the population.

At the conclusion of the meeting, a committee of seven was appointed to prepare a draft of a "union formula" to be presented to the Peace Conference, which included representatives of the various Jewish delegations. Marshall and Adler were appointed to this committee.

<sup>39</sup> Lord Louis Samuel Swaythling (his family name was originally Montagu) and Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild were elected members of the delegation of the Jews of the British Empire to represent British Jewry at the meetings in Paris, but they were unable to leave England. They were replaced by Henry Straus Quixano Henriques and Joseph Prag.

<sup>40</sup> Boris D. Bogen served as administrator of Jewish relief in Poland. See his autobiography, *Born A Jew* (New York, 1930), especially chapters XIV-XIX.

Tuesday, April 8, [19]19.

Before I answer your letters, let me say that our own affairs here are beginning to take a better turn — at least an approach to unity. Our large committee of about fifty had appointed a small committee of seven, which met this morning. I cannot say that harmony is certain, but at least approaches have been made. My travelling companion [Marshall] and I represent the U.S.A. on this committee of seven so there is no kick coming our way. . . .

. . . God knows this is a time when good understanding and peace are needed in this world.<sup>41</sup> I also feel that for the relief work alone I have been able to help more here in two days than I could have in a year at home. It was very necessary to come. Some of us ought to have been over here all these years. The need and the work are both stupendous, and it is big work. . . .<sup>42</sup>

Wednesday, April 9, 1919.

We are making our plans for Pesach as follows: Seder with the soldiers. I am getting four kilos of matzos and will get boiled eggs and coffee sent to the room. Other meals I will go to the

<sup>41</sup> Janowsky cites Nahum Sokolow's testimony to Adler's conciliatory attitude: "Outside our ranks Mr. Adler was really the most accommodating" (pp. 305-6). Tenenbaum, who is highly critical of the "assimilationist American Jewish Committee" approach of Adler throughout his volume (see especially pp. 35, 65, 70), places a different emphasis on the compromise proposal (see pp. 75-80).

<sup>42</sup> The "Diary" is punctuated with tragic reports from Poland. A typical insertion is dated Friday, April 11th:

We then went to the Welfare Board where we met Major Davis, M.D., U. S. A., who gave us a most terrible picture of conditions in Poland. The synagogue[s], he said, were filled with people, many of them ill with typhus, because they had no other shelter; he saw people delirious from hunger. He said that at the beginning, Doctor Bogen met with great difficulties — but gradually his position was improved — that most of the Commissioners were useless; that what was needed were strong young men and women who were willing to sacrifice their comfort and they ought to be in uniform [pp. 20-21].



kosher restaurant . . . though I am going to lay in some sausage in case it should be too bad weather on a walking day . . . .

Thursday, April 10, 1919.

Tomorrow there will be more "conversations," and by the middle of next week our Jewish delegations will reach an agreement if one is possible. The men from Eastern Europe have been through a lot and their conditions are heartrending. One cannot avoid sympathizing with their needs (and I do not mean only their physical needs), even if we cannot always follow their judgement.

Sunday night, April 13, [19]19.

Affairs seem to be reaching a crisis, and I am afraid we shall have a busy Passover. Whatever may come out of it, I shall always feel that, in spite of my sorrow at being away from you, it was necessary to come and that it would have been a betrayal of helpless people not to do so. Only I ought to have come in December.

April 14, 1919, Monday, ערב פסח [Erev Pesach].

All this morning we spent at the Hotel Crillon creating, I think, favorable public opinion. . . . It looks like a very long story. I shouldn't be surprised if things would last until the summer. It is a game of watchful waiting. However, it is a stormy day, and I may be pessimistic.

Wednesday, April 16, 1919.

Monday evening we went to the Rue Victoire to synagogue, where there was an enormous congregation and a beautiful service. Then to the hall where the JWB [Jewish Welfare Board] Seder was held. There were five hundred seats around the table and, excepting forty reserved for officials and the various

delegates who were here and asked to be invited, all the rest were occupied by soldiers, officers and men. A few were Australians and the rest Americans. The service was chanted by an American soldier from Washington, [Abe] Schefferman, who has a powerful and magnificent voice. After the service there was, unfortunately, speaking. I led off, followed by Marshall, [Julian W.] Mack, a French colonel who "represented" Marshal [Ferdinand] Foch, and Congressman [Walter Marion] Chandler. I was rather opposed to this part of the programme, but the boys seemed to like it, and I tell you they can cheer. All the details were observed. Each person had his dish of *charoset*, horseradish, lettuce, and herbs. It was really an inspiring sight, and the boys were so happy and felt themselves greatly honored. It rained cats and dogs, and we were all soaked when we got home, but none the worse for wear. . . .

Tuesday morning I went to the Portuguese synagogue, which was also crowded. The service was very impressive, and the Americans all got honors. . . . I accompanied the Law and [David S.] Blondheim had something else. My regular seat now is on the *banca* with the president and I was called up as "Monsieur Cyrus Adler de la Consistoire de Philadelphia." (By the way, I am getting along better in French than I thought, although I am somewhat timid about it in good society.) The chant for the prayer for the dew is exactly as with us. I wish we would have more dew and less rain. . . .

In the evening we went again to the Seder. This time [Harry] Cutler, Marshall, and I were the only guests. The Australian Jewish chaplain and the soldiers themselves made the speeches, and it was more informal and jollier than the first night. Most of the boys who were there the second night could not get in the first night. There were more Australians present, and they gave their peculiar war cry. . . .

You say you are wondering whether things are going as I

want them. There is no use writing about them as everything is in a state of flux, but the big things look a little better, and our own hold out some hope, though I fear we cannot bring about unanimity.

April 17, 1919.

... this whole business is one of watchful waiting, to use a famous phrase, but the elements are so diverse and the conditions so big that the watching is harder than the working. This is not a complaint, only a statement of fact. Tonight we have been sitting in the hotel with a couple of bright Americans engaged in what is here the principal business: talking, with a goodly number of stories thrown in.

Friday, April 18, [19]19.

My principal business today has been at Mr. Hoover's office, where I have been twice in connection with affairs in Poland, which are very horrifying. . . .<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The interview with Herbert Hoover, chairman of the American Relief Committee, is summarized in the "Diary," pp. 182-85.

The following extract of the report of the meeting indicates the similarity of views held by Adler and Hoover. Yet Adler persisted in presenting the views of the East European delegations.

... Mr. Hoover said further:

1. That strong Jews in America and elsewhere ought to be factors in preventing the Jews in Poland from continuing the mistakes they are now making in causing a political division.

2. That the Jews ought to *insist on political equality and religious liberty*.

3. That it is a profound error to introduce the words "national rights" into the discussion. He again, at this point, emphasized the need for demanding political equality and religious liberty.

Doctor Adler here stated that this had been his own view but that practically all the Jewish delegations from Eastern Europe insisted that national minority rights were their only safeguard; that the Eastern Jews insisted that they know conditions and are the best judges of what they require and that the Western Jews have no right to impose their views upon them. That even the French and English Jews who do not use the word "national" insist upon "minority rights."

Mr. Hoover said that he considers this a most serious mistake.

4. That the Joint Distribution Committee should continue to do its relief

. . . . I am playing a lone hand in the main until such time as I think it may be useful for the cause to do otherwise. The position is not an easy one but I am standing as an independent entity representing America. I may tire out most of the others before they tire me out. You may be sure that I am not moved by personal considerations, for the position is too tremendous to have such considerations weigh. But just at the moment it seems wise to me.

Wednesday, April 23, 1919.

. . . . If ever there was a time when individuals counted for nothing, and the cause of millions of suffering humanity counted, this is the time. I hope you will not think the less of me because of my method; indeed, it is the only one I can employ.

Everything now is on the knees of the Olympians, the big four, and by next Monday we shall know how things turn out. Nobody will be satisfied, of that I am sure, but it may be that even with deductions we shall get a great charter of liberties for our people. Let us hope so.

April 25, 1919.

. . . . This is the most nerve-racking atmosphere that ever was churned up. No hours are possible for meals or anything else. People knock at your door before you are up and drop in at 10:45 P.M. . . .

work in Poland in which the American Relief Administration is giving and will give every possible assistance.

5. That it should continue to organize local committees for this purpose, but that in Poland and wherever else it does its work, it should make it a condition of administering of relief in any form, that the committees should have no political character, or that the participants therein do no political work against the existing government. . . .

He asked Doctor Adler to make this clear to his people and when Doctor Adler asked for permission to quote him, he assented.

April nineteenth, 1919.

April 27, 1919.

We then called on Baron Edmond de Rothschild and had a most interesting hour's talk. He is a tall, spare man of seventy-three, very intelligent and well informed as to affairs all over the world.

His "hotel" is a very fine one, and the room in which we were received full of fine pictures and other objects of art. . . .

April 28, 1919.

Tonight a half dozen of us, including two men just in from Poland, dined together, and we got more details about conditions there and tried to think out plans to be of help. It is a hard nut to crack, as indeed is most of the Eastern world. Anyone who is perfectly sure that he knows what is best is a mixture of sublime assurance and actual ignorance.

Midnight, May 1, [19]19.

This evening I went to Rabbi Lieber's [Maurice Liber] for dinner. Blondheim called for me. We were the only guests. The family consisted of the rabbi, his wife, and sister-in-law. Two dear little girls about four and six were allowed to stay up to see me, and I suppose out of compliment to me one of them was dressed in something that looked perilously like an American flag.

Friday afternoon, May 2, 1919.

This morning at Brentano's and the Hotel Crillon I devoted a couple hours to the Free Library of Philadelphia and made good progress. I think the matter will work out satisfactorily. I got an armful of pamphlets and maps this morning for nothing. . . .<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> This was one of Dr. Adler's "hobby" assignments. He had consented, before leaving New York, to the request of Simon Gratz, then president of the Board of

May 4, 1919, 11:20 P.M.

I picked up the other day a volume of Sherlock Holmes stories which I have never read, so think what fun I am having. . . .

Monday morning, May 5, [1919].

. . . . Yesterday afternoon Marshall, Cutler, and I decided on an afternoon off. Cutler had a fine limousine, and we went through the Bois de Boulogne, which is wonderfully green and beautiful and was crowded with people. Then out to Versailles, where we saw all the wonders, both outdoor and in the miles of historical paintings, too many of which look as though they were done to order. You probably remember, however, the tapestries, which to my eye are infinitely more beautiful than the paintings. But it was the out of doors which is the most beautiful of all. Such gardens and lawns and avenues of trees and fountains exist nowhere else in the world. Part of the grounds were closed off, for the Boches are there. We saw a few of them walking in their enclosure, but of course could distinguish no faces. There was a big crowd peering through the great iron gates but not a sound or a word of insult was uttered. As the Boches themselves say, their reception has been cold but correct.

Tuesday, May 6, 1919.

I hope no one will exaggerate my little part here. There are at least forty Jewish representatives from different parts of the world, and if all claim the exclusive credit for what may or may not happen, Baron Munchausen won't be in it with them.

Trustees of the Free Library of Philadelphia, to try to build up the collection of early atlases for the Library. Adler describes in his autobiography how he used "to prow around the streets of Paris from about five o'clock until dinner time," and that he visited hundreds of bookshops. He bought a fine collection and arranged with Brentano's in Paris to be his shipping agent.

Today I made a funny find: a Purim plate of a kind I have never seen before. Haman is a pitiable looking object. It is inscribed and dated 1795.

May 8, 1919.

I sent you a cable this morning about the treaty because I wanted you to hear from me direct that the first round in the fight has been won, although I have no doubt that what I cabled you and much more has been sent to the American papers. . . .

Maybe my writing conveys to you some idea of the excitement everyone here is laboring under. There is no outward show, but the feeling is akin to that of Armistice Day. Whether the Germans will sign is another matter, but even if they do not, the necessary military measures will only in my opinion be in the nature of a demonstration and not of a fight.

Oscar [S. Straus] feels very good about the League of Nations and has a very warm letter from the President acknowledging his help. . . .

May 9, 1919.

. . . . It was absolutely necessary for some responsible people to be here for the relief. Otherwise much unnecessary suffering which we could prevent would have gone on. God knows there is enough.<sup>45</sup>

Saturday night, May 10, 1919.

. . . . We [with Elkan Adler] prowled among book shops, and as luck would have it, I struck one from which I expect

<sup>45</sup> A portion of every day was assigned to the relief work. On Sunday, May 11th, Adler records: "We saw Mr. Oscar Straus and Mr. Lewis Strauss this evening. We agreed to telegraph to Washington for permission to create a Joint Distribution Committee uniform. We discussed the formation of a business corporation for constructive relief, also the advisability of sending a Jew as Consul-General or Consul to Poland." ["Diary," pp. 41-42.]

to get a lot of old atlases. I think the Philadelphia Library will get a fine collection. . . .

Sunday night, May 11, 1919.

This afternoon Marshall and I went to see Salomon Reinach. He lives at Boulogne. We drove through the Bois, which was filled with people, and the most wonderful avenues of horse chestnut trees. Reinach (not the one who was in America) is one of the most cultivated men in the world. He has a library of 30,000 volumes, mostly on archaeology and art. . . .

May 12, 1919.

. . . . Tonight we went to an amateur soldiers' show called "Who Can Tell," got up by the men of the 88th Division and given under the auspices of the JWB. Mr. and Mrs. O. S. Straus, Marshall, [Chaplain Elkan C.] Voorsanger, and your humble servant occupied the centre box and enjoyed ourselves immensely. The place was packed — of course with soldiers. There were 155 men in the cast, and those who acted as girls were simply killing; but the pony ballet brought down the house. I haven't laughed so much at anything I have seen in Paris, and those around me enjoyed it as much. The scenery was very elaborate — and beautiful — and the Persian ladies wonderful. I think the professional stage could learn something from the boys, and they were graceful and snappy.

May 13, 1919.

We had very bad news from Wilna via Copenhagen, but as the latter is a center of news-mongering I went to the ARA (American Relief Administration, i. e. Hoover) to set machinery in motion for authentic information. By the way, no one troubles to use words here, but all speak in abbreviations.

Then I met two Captains, [Ulysses Morris] Bachman and



[Simon] Reisler, who have been attached to the Peace Commission;<sup>46</sup> I would like to have them transferred to the ARA, as I believe they could do enormously good work in Eastern Europe.

May 14, 1919.

.... You will be interested to know the exact words of the treaty, which I got only yesterday through Oscar Straus.

Article 93 is as follows: "Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said Powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion."

Every word counts here, and it is much stronger than in the advanced summary from which I quoted in the cable.

I must go and attend to something now because of horrible news from Wilna, and this is a time of peace.

May 15, 1919.

.... You know too from my letters that the job is not yet done, that there is a supplemental treaty, and that Roumania and Russia are still to be considered. It is our hope that a norm established for Poland will be applied automatically to the other countries.

.... Today I spent two hours at old book shops and completed as far as I can the collection of atlases for the Philadelphia Free Library. . . .

Midnight, May 15 [1919].

.... I gave a little dinner on my own account tonight, to Marshall, Lewis Straus[s], and Captain Bachman. As a result, the latter agreed to go in for relief work. . . .

<sup>46</sup> Captain Simon Reisler of Indianapolis and Captain Ulysses Morris Bachman of Cleveland were medical officers who served in Salonica, the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, Galicia, and Poland.

Sunday night, May 18, [19]19.

Lewis Straus[s] (Mr. Hoover's secretary), about whom I have written occasionally and who is one of the dearest boys that ever came down the pike, sent word yesterday that he would like to take Marshall and me out for the day. . . .<sup>47</sup>

We first went to the Plaza to return Judge Mack's good-bye call. He went to London at eleven and sails on Wednesday. We then started off and got back at Paris dusk about 8:45, travelling nearly 300 miles in an open car. You should see my face, it is full of red roses.

I can't possibly give you the names of all the towns and villages we passed through, but we were at Belleau Woods, now known as the Bois des Marines des États Unis, at Château-Thierry, at Rheims, and Fismes, up and down across the Marne, and saw a good part of this sector of the battle front.

Much is already covered over, but I saw enough to make my blood boil anew and to feel that nothing that the Germans have inflicted on them in the treaty is enough.

I have seen thousands of little dwellings shattered to atoms, the dugouts which sheltered the German machine guns, trenches, enormous holes in the ground made by great shells, barbed wire entanglements four rows deep (the American barbed wire was much better than the German). I walked through the Belleau Woods and saw where the battle took place, passed very many small cemeteries and, alas, many places on the roadside where there was a single grave. I walked through the streets of Rheims, which almost looks like a city of the dead,

<sup>47</sup> Adler's affection for the young Strauss was revealed in other ways, as the following paragraph from Mr. Strauss's letter of February 11, 1954, indicates:

Dr. Adler was especially kind to me. Busy as he was, he took the time and trouble to write to my parents in Richmond, Virginia, whom he had never met, to give them a good report of me. I still have that letter, for my mother, of blessed memory, carefully treasured it, and I found it among her effects many years later.

many of the streets simply pulverized, with here and there a part of a house standing and a few people and a goat or donkey inhabiting it. And the magnificent cathedral with its roof gone, partially defaced, but still standing in the main in ruined grandeur. The town of Fismes is even more of a ruin than Rheims — almost every house shattered. No pen can paint these pictures, it takes the eye to see them. I saw German prisoners, lots of them, at work or marching in their billets, but well clad and well fed. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that mere fiendishness was at work here, else why should every house in a village down in the valley, far away from the railroads, from any fortification, be shot to pieces? It was just damned deviltry; the Boches had the guns, and these houses were targets. You can see signs of how they expected to own the country, for they had put up signs in German, which are still standing, giving directions as to roads, etc. When you see Rheims, you realize what a mercy of God it was that they did not get to Paris. Truly the name Huns is not undeserved.

May 19 [1919].

. . . . The JWB will soon be over, but the relief work could go on indefinitely. Every day multiplies horrors.

May 20, 1919, 10:15 P M.

. . . . I had a call this morning from [Claude G.] Montefiore, Sir Stuart Samuel, Messrs. Henriques and Prag of London. Of course, the whole question is the internal conditions in Eastern Europe where fourteen separate wars are now being fought. Still, the peace conference is slowly but surely marching to its end. It must stop some time, and then maybe the world will take the League of Nations for a trained nurse and go to bed for a rest cure. . . .

May 21, Midnight [1919].

We had terrible details tonight in connection with the fighting in Wilna — 2,200 Jews were buried by the Hebra Kadisha; all the people at a service in one synagogue were killed. I suppose you will have read the details in the press long before this reaches you. The whole world seems mad.

May 22, 1919.

. . . . I hope you will meet Lewis Straus[s] some day. He has the judgement of a man of forty, enormous power of work, a kind heart, and is just a six foot kid into the bargain. . . .

Sunday morning, May 25 [1919].

I spent the morning at the office of the JDC [Joint Distribution Committee] receiving horrible cables about pogroms from various sources. We have had very full direct reports of the great demonstration in New York. It was a good thing to have done. I have several times cabled to the JDC very full statements of the horrors we heard about.

We have had a very full account by wire of the great demonstration in New York, which may prove of high importance.<sup>48</sup>

I am keeping a record — but rather a working record — my human one is going to you.

If I haven't told you before, I will say now that at the latter end and now we are a "united front" again and while the temporary decision was unfortunate and created great mental distress to those of us who were in earnest about unity, in the last analysis I think no real harm was done.

<sup>48</sup> A cablegram of some two thousand words was sent by Jacob H. Schiff to Marshall and Adler, who then brought it to the attention of President Wilson. For the documents and additional material on this phase of their work, including the reports of the Morgenthau Commission, see Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith, *With Firmness in the Right* (New York, 1946), pp. 152-67.

.... I can say of my own knowledge that it was highly necessary that Bogen should come over here. No hero of the war has done or stood what that man has gone through. I consider him one of the great Jewish heroes, and when the time comes I mean to say so. . . .

May 26, 1919.

Today we took a long step forward, I think, both in the matter of rights and the stopping of pogroms. We had a half hour's talk with the President, who was most gracious and sympathetic. He looks remarkably well in view of the great strain he has been under, and I remarked it to him. He said: "Well, I ascribe it to the fact that I haven't lost my sense of humor." He is lodged in a very beautiful house in a lovely street which they call the Place des États Unis, and very near it is the splendid Avenue de President Wilson. It may be that long before this reaches you the press may have some statement of this interview, though I do not know just what was given out.

I said to Mr. Marshall as we left the house, if anybody had told us five years ago that we two would be talking to the President of the United States in Paris, we would have had him locked up as a lunatic. None of the others who have gone back to the U. S. had an interview with the President; this is the first that has been secured.<sup>49</sup>

We then spent an hour with Mr. Hoover and went over many phases of the relief problem.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The interview is fully described in *I Have Considered the Days*, pp. 313-16, and in the "Diary," pp. 206-9. See also *Louis Marshall: Champion of Liberty*, II, pp. 552-53.

<sup>50</sup> Herbert Hoover records in his new volume, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, that "next to the Peace Conference itself, the most important American activity during the peacemaking and for some time afterward was the Relief and Reconstruction of Europe, under my direction. Mr. Wilson often referred to it as the 'Second American Expeditionary Force to Save Europe.'" See pp. 87-93, under the subdivisions

May 27, 1919.

... it doesn't make much difference what anyone says, the real point will be what was accomplished, and if we can bring home the accomplishment, the talk won't amount to much. I have, however, great confidence in the result. You must consider the cause and sink the personalities. Marshall has been wonderful, and we never could have accomplished half of what we will without him. After the agreement on policy this has been largely a lawyer's task in competition with the greatest international lawyers of the world, and he has more than held his own. Mack worked hard and, as a United States judge and with his other Washington connections, was of great value. . . .

May 28, 1919.

.... Miss [Harriet B.] Lowenstein returned from Vienna and Warsaw full of dreadful accounts. She showed us a piece of bread customarily eaten by the poor, which looked more like dung than anything else. I don't believe a pig would eat it. Well, enough of horrors.

I had a half hour and went to Brentano's to arrange for the purchase of some more books for which I had received offers. If my credit for the Free Library holds out, I will make for them a great collection of atlases.

May 29, 1919, 10:30 P.M.

Tomorrow is Decoration Day. There are services in the various synagogues and churches. I am going to the Rue Victoire in the morning and in the afternoon, when I am on the Committee to receive the President.

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"The Relief and Reconstruction of Europe" and "Organizing the Relief and Reconstruction."

Decoration Day morning . . . we must stay for the supplementary treaties, as the main treaties have in them, so far as we are concerned, only generalities, and after all it is the details that count for everyday life. A job half done is no job at all. . . . The supplementary treaty about Poland is by this time in the hands of the Poles. We will see how they take it. Of course, not a word is allowed in the newspapers about it here, though there has been a "leak" to the London *Times*. Such leaks, however, greatly injure the papers that use them. . . .

. . . . I am also convinced that Hebrew should be used as a spoken language and am willing, when I come home, to join in the movement to that end. While I am too old ever to get a good use of it, I realize that we must have a language in which we can communicate with each other. . . .

May 30, 1919, 4 P.M.

This morning we had services at the big Synagogue, as there were at various churches. I enclose you the JWB program; it was very dignified and simple, and the addresses were short and touching. I confess that I openly wept.

This afternoon at two there were services at the American Cemetery at Suresnes. It was a sad but wonderful occasion. Many thousands of Americans and French were there, and the hillsides were crowded with American boys in khaki, and the cemetery was filled with American graves. The President made a fine speech, and he was attended by Marshal Foch (who looks very much like his pictures only more weather-beaten). Ambassador [Hugh Campbell] Wallace, Henry White, General [Tasker Howard] Bliss, Admiral [Andrew Theodore] Long, and innumerable French generals and other people whom I don't know. . . .

It is hard to judge whether the President's speech will be immortal, and it contained some references to immediate events,

but I thought it very great, and certainly there are few men who in an even voice can address a multitude in the open air and be heard.

As the present titular head of the JWB overseas, I was on the reception committee and so had an excellent place only a few feet from the speaker's stand. . . .

It did seem to me an historic occasion for the President of the United States to be speaking on French soil in the presence, alas, of so many American dead. Let us hope they did not die in vain.

May 31, 1919, Saturday night.

We feel reasonably secure, but there is danger of a joker being slipped in or of some perfectly well-meaning person dropping a monkey wrench in the machinery, so it is most advisable to see the thing through.

I was talking today with the representation of the English Quakers, who are doing a great deal of relief work in Europe, and they, like us, are appalled at the immensity of the task.

June 1 [1919].

The *Matin* reports this morning that the Austrian treaty was given in confidence yesterday to the minor powers. The *Matin* states that various representatives of the smaller powers objected to the clause granting rights to minorities as being an interference with their internal affairs. Mr. Wilson replied, justifying the attitude of the great powers in taking the responsibility of guaranteeing a reign of justice to the citizens of all the states born or enlarged by the war. There may be some minor changes made in wording, but the condition at present seems satisfactory. It is understood that the treaty goes to the Austrians tomorrow. Possibly your papers have fuller reports, as there seems to be a



disposition to let a little more news out, but of course I don't know.

June 5, 1919, 10 P.M.

On the first day of Shebuot I went to the Portuguese Synagogue, which I like very much. It was beautifully decorated, and the little boys were charming. The Chief Rabbi gave a good sermon and read the Ten Commandments himself. When he goes up to preach or to the Law he is attended by two *Shamas[h]im*, and the small boys, and the whole congregation stands. I was seated on the *banca* with the president, and every one who was called up walked over and shook hands with him and felt it necessary to shake hands with me too. . . .

June 13, 1919.

This is Friday afternoon, the 13th, and hasn't been a pleasant day as we only get more harrowing details from Eastern Europe. These are not new facts but the details of them. Some of them are intended, I think, to frighten us off from our work, but we are not built that way.

June 17, 1919.

With regard to the pogroms, it is not impossible that they are partly intended to scare us off from continuing our work here, but we are trying to set millions of people free and will not stop, nor do the Jewish people in Eastern Europe want us to stop. They want to be rid of the terrible torture of each day, and say that they would rather die of hunger or be killed than to be insulted and degraded every day. I have sent a letter to Dr. Bogen today, which I hope he will show in the proper quarters and which may at least give him some moral support in his very trying position in Warsaw. . . .

June 24, 1919.

. . . . The town is commencing to decorate itself most beautifully to celebrate the signing of the peace, which will probably be before the end of this week. They had quite a lively time last night, but I fancy the real blowout will come after signing. . . .

. . . . I met Mr. [Henry] Morgenthau on the street, and although he is eaten up with his profession, shows a genuine interest in Jewish affairs. In fact, the most indifferent Jews have become interested over here. It is difficult to escape it.<sup>51</sup>

June 25, 1919.

. . . . I cannot see how things can be delayed much longer. It is now in the cards that the Boche will sign on Saturday of this week, if they can get anyone to sign for him. He is a slippery customer; he began the war with the invasion of Belgium and ends it by scuttling his ships.

June 29, 1919.

I went to the Portuguese Synagogue, where there was an excellent attendance. We [with Marshall] walked across the river to the Invalides. Crowds were beginning to gather all about the Place de la Concorde, awaiting the booming of the cannon to signal the signing of the treaty with Germany. Meanwhile every man, woman, and child who had the price had streamed out to Versailles. We heard the booming all right, but it was the Polish treaty that interested us most. . . . Back

<sup>51</sup> President Wilson appointed a mission (consisting of Henry Morgenthau, Brigadier General Edgar Jadwin, and Homer H. Johnson) to go to Poland to investigate the relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations. Although Adler advised Morgenthau not to accept the appointment, Morgenthau felt that the mission would be helpful, since it was to come at the invitation of Paderewski to investigate the various reports emanating from Poland. Moreover, the mission hoped to discover a way to ameliorate the pogroms and discriminations. See also Hoover, *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*, p. 141, "Outbreaks of Jewish Persecution in Poland."

we went to the Crillon and met Ray Stannard Baker, who told us it had been signed in another room from that in which the correspondents were and was all right, and so the long fight was over and won. . . .

Then we tried to get dinner, but the town had broken loose and it was hard to get anything. I dipped into the crowds, up to the Madeline, back to the Crillon, along the Rue Rivoli, up the Rue de la Paix to the Opéra, and there the crowd was too much even for me. Taxis were not allowed to run; people danced in the streets, and there was a great jollification that the war was at last over, five years from the date of the assassination at Sarajevo. May I add that I drank a bottle of champagne before going to bed?

This morning Sokolow called for the purpose of giving congratulations. We went to Morgenthau's for a conference; he is to go to Poland as the head of a special mission with Homer Johnson of the Liquidation Board, who has been at this hotel as long as we have. . . . Now that the Polish treaty is signed, we hope to aid in bringing about a reconciliation between the two populations in Poland. . . .

I begin to feel that it is certain that Roumania, all the new countries, and even Greece will have similar terms made and that it is not necessary to see each one through. I confess now that the result is better than I had dared to hope in view of the seesawing of the last two months, that there were many dangers and that we owe most of the result to President Wilson.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> The feeling of gratitude to Wilson was shared by all the Jewish delegations and was formally expressed to him on behalf of the *Comité des Délégations Juives* in a letter of May 16th. Signed by Louis Marshall and Julian W. Mack, the letter revealed not only the hope that had been placed in Wilson, but also the hope that had been centered in the Peace Conference.

"We take this opportunity of giving expression to the gratitude that the Jews of all the world owe to you for your mighty endeavors to obtain for them that measure of justice for which they have waited well nigh twenty centuries." ["Diary," Part III, p. 316.]



# The Writings of Jacob Rader Marcus

Compiled by HERBERT C. ZAFREN

A BIBLIOGRAPHY is in the nature of a skeletal literary biography, and the bibliographer is tempted to write a biographical introduction using his compilation as a primary source. One can watch with ease the progression as our subject writes first for his hometown Jewish paper, then for his school's student publication, for Jewish papers of wider popular appeal, for scholarly journals, local and distant. One sees Marcus, the student, become a soldier in 1917, a Ph.D. candidate in Berlin writing a dissertation in German in 1925, a leading rabbi with a presidential message to the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1950, a renowned historian with a presidential address to the American Jewish Historical Society in 1957. From book reviewer in the school organ to sought-after writer of prefaces and introductions in the works of students and colleagues, Dr. Marcus has risen from humble beginnings to the heights in his chosen fields.

But these and other almost obvious observations can easily be made by any user of the bibliography.

It remains for us to indicate that there are no illusions about the completeness of this list. There may be titles completely overlooked by the compiler and forgotten by Dr. Marcus, whose help the compiler acknowledges with much gratitude. There

Mr. Herbert C. Zafren is the Librarian at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati.

are certainly many possible references to reprintings in other places; some were intentionally omitted. In 1922, for example, there appeared "The Rise of the House of Hillel" in *The Scribe*. The *American Israelite* reprinted this in 1928, and very soon thereafter the London *Jewish World* picked it up. This, like some later items, may have appeared in almost syndicated fashion in community papers in scattered places throughout the United States and elsewhere. A first reference, and occasionally a second, are deemed sufficient.

Largely because of dating difficulties, one whole category has been removed from the list. As a very conscientious and careful teacher, Dr. Marcus prepared many syllabi for his courses and had them published in mimeograph form. A partial list follows:

1. C History — From the Fall of the First Temple, 586 B.C.E., to the Fall of Jerusalem, 70 C.E. (This appeared in at least three editions.)
2. C History — The History of the Jewish People in the Days of the Second Temple 516 B. C. E. — 70 C. E.
3. The Jew in the Near East, 70–311 C. E.
4. The Medieval Jew, 311–1791 C. E.
5. The Jew in the Medieval and Modern World, 311 to date.
6. History III — Modern Jewish History — From the Beginning of the 17th Century to Present Times.
7. History III — Modern Jewish History — From the Middle of the 17th Century to Present Times.
8. The American Jew.

Other, generally non-scholarly, publications are also intentionally omitted.

The list is arranged chronologically by year, but alphabetically within any one year. Collations are simple except to distinguish variant editions; cross references are provided to facilitate use.

1916

1. America: The Spiritual Center of Jewery [sic]. *Jewish Community Bulletin*. Wheeling, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 4-5, 8.

2. The Jews of Russia and Poland. *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Cincinnati, Vol. 2, pp. 171-172.

A review of Israel Friedlaender's *The Jews of Russia and Poland* (New York, 1915).

3. Mendele Mocher Seforim. *American Hebrew*. New York, Vol. 98, pp. 410-411.

4. [Review of] *The Evolution of Modern Hebrew Literature*, by Abraham S. Waldstein (New York, 1916). *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Cincinnati, Vol. 2, pp. 304-305.

5. [Review of] *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Chicago, 1915), James Orr, Editor-in-Chief, 5 vols. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, pp. 20-23.

6. Year Book — Central Conference of American Rabbis, Vol. XXV. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 175-176.

A review.

1917

7. *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Jacob R. Marcus, Editor-in-Chief. Vol. 4, 1917-1918.

Inactive in this year because of military service, Dr. Marcus was an active Associate Editor for Vols. 3 and 6, during which time his initials appear under several editorials.

8. Judaism and Struggling Christianity. *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Cincinnati, Vol. 3, pp. 181-194.

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12. Lost: Judaism in the A[merican] E[xpeditionary] F[orces]; the Urgent Need for Welfare Workers. *American Hebrew*. New York, Vol. 104, pp. 448, 456-457.
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14. [Review of] *Chosen Peoples. The Hebraic Ideal Versus the Teutonic*, by Israel Zangwill (London, 1918). *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Cincinnati, Vol. 6, pp. 22-23.

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15. *An Investigation into Polish Jewish Life of the Sixteenth Century with Special Reference to Isaac ben Abraham, Author of Hizuk Emunah*. Cincinnati, [198] pp. variously paged.

Rabbinic thesis. Typescript deposited at Hebrew Union College Library.

16. [Review of] *The Inward Light*, by Allan Davis and Anna R. Stratton (New York, 1919). *Hebrew Union College Monthly*. Cincinnati, Vol. 6, pp. 119-120.
17. Valedictory. *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 182-184.

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19. The Jew Enters Spain. *The Scribe*. Portland, Ore., Vol. 5, No. 8, p. 4.
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22. Making a Living in Ancient [i. e., Medieval] Spain. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 15, pp. 5, 12-13.
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ABRAHAM I. SHINEDLING

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